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Part I

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN CIRCARS

Chapter III.

(Continued from p. 172 of Vol. XI.)

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M A., Ph D. (Lond.)

According to this settlement, individual agreements were concluded between the Madras government on the one hand and Sitārāma Rāzu and Pāyaka Rao on the other.¹ While Masulipatam had been busy with the southern zamindars of the Chicacole The Settlement Sarkar, Cotsford was making headway in Ichchāpuram, of 1763. On 10 June 1768 he proclaimed in open court the sources of the right of the Company to the Sarkar and produced a considerable effect on the zamindars.² He took energetic measures to secure the balance due from Akkāji on the previous year's rent, and concluded a fresh agreement with him for a period of three years on the condition that the Madras government would "protect the country at their own expense and receive the full rentsfrom it at little more than half its value and be liable to damages."³ Even though

1 *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 27 June, Vol. 62, pp. 796-97. See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 1 July, *idem.* pp. 842-43. See further *Madras Letters Received* (Bourchier), 1 November 1768, para 52. Vol. 1V.

The Madras Government actually intended to revert to unified management. But Masulipatam fallaciously observed that as Sitārāma Rāzu would not submit to the authority of a renter, such an attempt would be a failure. They further quoted the case of Narayana Deo.

The real facts were that at this stage the government were not prepared to entrust Sitārāma Rāzu with any real power. It was their determination to weaken the strength of Vijayanagaram which resulted in the disturbances of the Sarkar.

2 *Cotsford to Madras*, Chicacole, 12 June, 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 27 June. Vol. 62, pp. 767-98.

3 *Same to Same*, Ganjam, 22 July. *idem.* 3 August, *idem.* pp. 984-86.

fully conscious of the evil effects of an annual lease, the Madras government could not as yet come to the conclusion of adopting long period leases and reprimanded Cotsford for his agreement with Akkāji which they reduced for that of one year.⁴

Col. Peach's detachment gradually restored order in the Sarkar. The project of increasing the military strength of the Company was turned down and the government observed that the appointment of some person of power and influence to the management of the country taken possession of by Colonel Peach will be a more expedient measure than stationing the number of troops recommended by him."⁵ Nārāyaṇa Deo was routed by Col. Peach and the country scoured for any stragglers from his party. Likewise was the raja of Tekkali humiliated.⁶

These successes gave the Madras government an opportunity to attempt a scheme of revenue management in these disturbed tracts. Rama Jogi Patro, a former manager of Narayana Deo who was now in disgrace, seemed the most eligible person to manage the zamindari of Kimjidi like any other renter in the Kasimkota and Chicacole *parganas*. "But, as we cannot expect, 'till the country is settled, to reap any considerable advantage therefrom, it should not at present be let for any fixed time, but the person who is appointed to it must only have it till the Company's authority is sufficiently established to enable us to put it on a regular footing."⁷ Narayana Deo remained at large with the Company's troops vainly hoping to capture him. There was no hope of a peaceful settlement of the country until the fears from any of his future depredations were removed. As Col. Peach observed, notwithstanding the country being conquered and Narraindoo reduced to such a state that it is beyond a probability that he can by any means give us any more disturbance by open force, yet from the apprehensions of the country people are under from him, they can by no means be prevailed upon to submit to the Company's authority or return to their habitations, until such time as the principal men in power who are now with Narraindoo permit them, or "till some other person who has equal influence is sent hither to reconcile them to our government."⁸

4 *Milit. Cons.* 9 August and *Madras to Cotsford*, 11 August Vol. 62, pp. 984-86.

5 *Madras to Masulipatam*, 2 July. *idem.* pp. 846-48.

6 *Madras Letters Received*, (Bourchier) 8 August 1768 para 12, Vol. III.

7 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 and 2 July *Milit. Cons.* 9 July Vol. 62 pp. 853-56; Resolution of the Madras Government, *idem.* pp. 857-58 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 8 July *idem.* pp. 866-67.

8 *Col. Peach to Masulipatam*, Kimidi, 1 July 1768, *Milit. Cons.* 25 July Vol. 62 pp. 926-29.

Five years later, Charles Smith, Chief of Ganjam, wrote to Madras that the year 1769 "was a year fruitful in military operations and it appears to have been the most favourable for the collection of the revenue, which may therefore flourish in such conjecture, if care only be taken to preserve the country from being desolated".

Ganjam to Madras, 3 August 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 22 August, Vol. 76, pp. 575-86.

Since Akkaji had already settled for the *haveli* lands, the Madras government directed Cotsford to proceed with his settlement with individual Zamindars. But as to demilitarisation of the Sarkar, they directed him to "avoid mentioning this matter to (the zamindars) 'till a more favourable opportunity when a sufficient force may be spared to enforce this measure so necessary for securing the tranquility of the country."⁹ Through the instrumentality of President Bourcnier he had made arrangements for sufficient *suhukar* security to guarantee the renter's agreement. They accepted the conditions of Rāma Jōgi Pātro for the management of Kimiḍi, according to which Narayana Deo should not be allowed to have a footing in the country, his legitimate son (as against his illegitimate favourite son) should be invested as a raja and himself appointed *diwan* and granted him a *kaul* accordingly.¹⁰

Cotsford's early policy was extremely liberal.¹¹ As the Kimiḍi country was under his direct jurisdiction and as Col. Peach and the chief of Masulipatam advocated an aggressive policy even

Early liberal after the agreement with Rāma Jōgi Pātro, he emphatically protested against the introduction of any revolutionary measures. He wrote to Masulipatam: "It appears to me quite contrary to the interest of the India Company at present that any Zamindary should be reduced by force in any other case than as it is the last remedy (sic) in their hands to bring the disobedient to reason, for our authority is not sufficiently established in this part of the Chicacole Circar to go thro' with such an affair. This concerns the Zamindars in general, but with regard to Narrain Doo in particular, if you deprive the whole of his family of the inheritance of that Zamindary it will be the real and only cause for more trouble in this country than we shall be able to put a stop to for some years..... If you mean to seize the person of Narrain Doo thro' the means of Ramah Jogue Pauter (his former Duan) you must not think of destroying the Rajahship. The Governor and Council will not desire more but accept of Narrain Doo's fall as the punishment his crime merits."¹²

9 *Madras to Cotsford*, (milit.) 11 August 1768. Vol. 62, pp. 984-86.

10 *Ibid.* See also *Madras Letters Received*, (Bourcnier) 1 November 1768, para 53, Vol. IV.

11 Even though Cotsford had been solely vested with the responsibility of the Ichchapuram *pargana*, the chief of Masulipatam interfered therein without evoking opposition from him. Thus, it was at the direction of Masulipatam that Col. Peach undertook a survey of the district. Madras approved this measure.

See *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 August, *Milit. Cons.* 30 August Vol. 62, pp. 916-18, Resolution of the Madras Government p. 1021-23 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 22 August. *idem.* pp. 1031-32.

12 *Cotsford to Masulipatam*, Bangalore, 8 August. *Milit. Cons.* 5 September Vol. 62, pp. 1078-80.

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10 Ibid. See also *Madras Letters Received*, (Bourcier) 1 November 1768, para 53, Vol. IV.

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See *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 August, *Milit. Cons.* 30 August Vol. 62, pp. 16-18, Resolution of the Madras Government p. 1021-22 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 22 August, *idem.* pp. 1031-32.

12 Cotsford to Masulipatam, Berampore, 8 August. *Milit. Cons.* 5 September Vol. 62, pp. 1078-80.

Even two months after this protest, the chief of Masulipatam wrote to

The Masulipatam Council settled for Rs. 3,27,631 with Sitarama Razu for the first *kist* of the Vijayanagaram zamindari and, that of the Wurutla district, as well as for the balances due from Rāghava Rāzu. They also prevailed upon him to provide security for the tribute of Pāyaka Rao, raja of Satyavaram, who had only been recently liberated from his dependence on the zamindari of Vijayanagaram.¹³ Sitarama Razu's fidelity to the Company during the revolt of Narayana Deo was clearly recognised by the government. As Masulipatam put it: "We must, however, in justice to him observe that, in the late disturbances, he hath rendered the Company important and efficacious assistance, as without it the least bad consequence that could have resulted from the insurrection made by Narrain Doo must have been the entire loss of the Chicacole revenues for the present year."¹⁴ As a reward for this and in recognition of the several *sanads* possessed by him for his personal *jagir*, a *kaul* was granted confirming him in the same.¹⁵ As a further mark of the government's appreciation, the fort of Chicacole which had recently been acquired by the Company was, instead of being demolished, placed in his charge.¹⁶

Akkāji claimed a remission of Rs. 60,000 on account of the ravages of Narayana Deo during the preceding year. The Masulipatam Council proceeded with an interrogation of the *muzumdars* of the *pargana* with a view to ascertain the truth of this claim, but no subsequent action seems to have been taken regarding it.¹⁷ He was again granted the lease of the districts of Kasimkota, Jalmur and the Naupada salt farm at an annual rent of Rs. 2,00,000 which was "more than would be given by any person". Akkaji was prevailed upon to offer this rent in view of the fact that he had already enjoyed the lease of the farms during the previous year and that the present year's settlement only

Madras that "it never occurred to me that any of Narraindoe's family would again be restored to the possession of the Kimmedy Country". *Masulipatam to Madras*, 25 October, *idem.* 2 November, *idem.* pp. 1419—21.

¹³ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September 1768, *idem.* 12 September *idem.* pp. 1096—98. See also *Same to Same*, 20 September, *idem.* 30 September, *idem.* pp. 1193—96.

¹⁴ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 12 September Vol. 62 pp. 1096—98. See also *Same to same*, 20 September *idem.* 30 September, *idem.* pp. 1193—96.

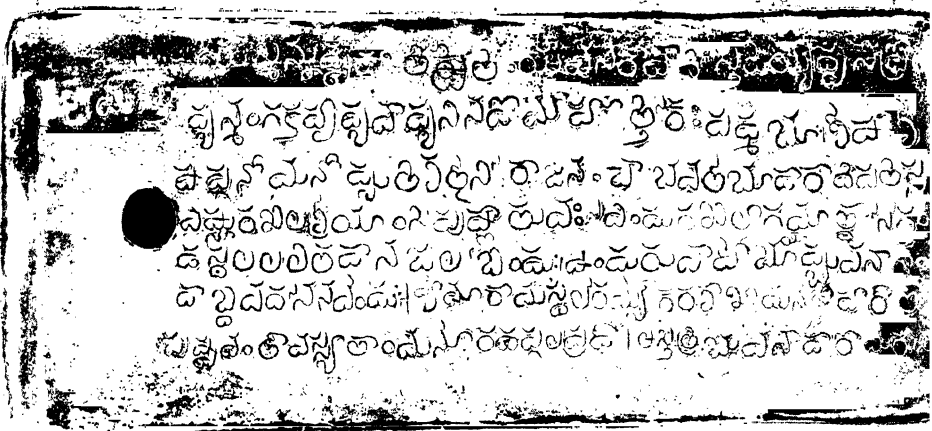
¹⁵ *idem.* pp. 1202—03 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 4 October *idem.* p. 1123. Owing to certain irregularities a fresh *kaul* was granted to Sitarama Razu. See *Milit. Cons.* 24 July 1769. Vol. 65, p. 369.

I have copied out this *kaul* as Appendix 'B' No. 2.

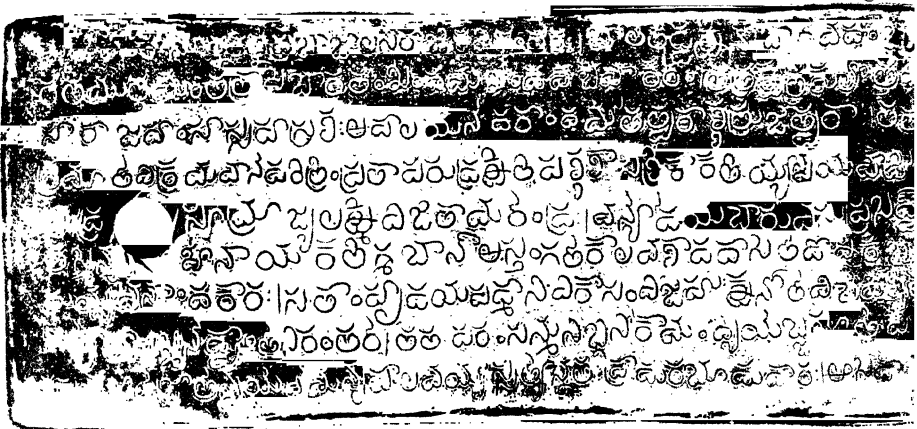
¹⁶ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 21 December, 1778. *Milit. Cons.* 26 December Vol. 64 p. 1958.

¹⁷ I was not able to trace this transaction any further.

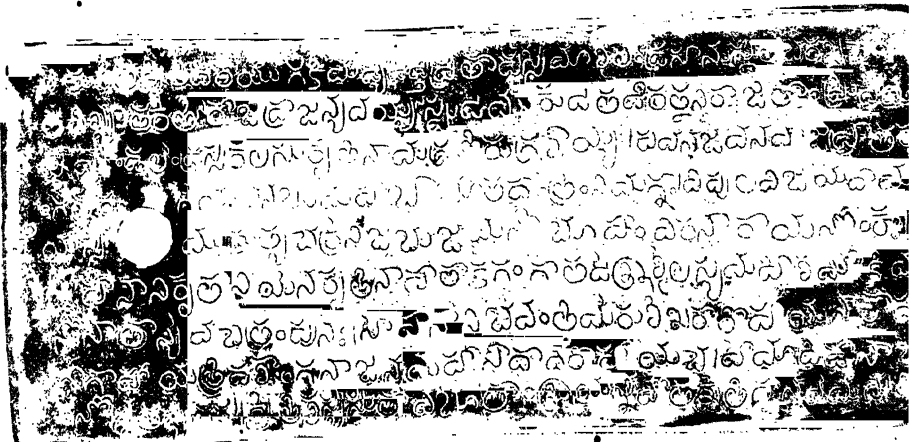
First plate



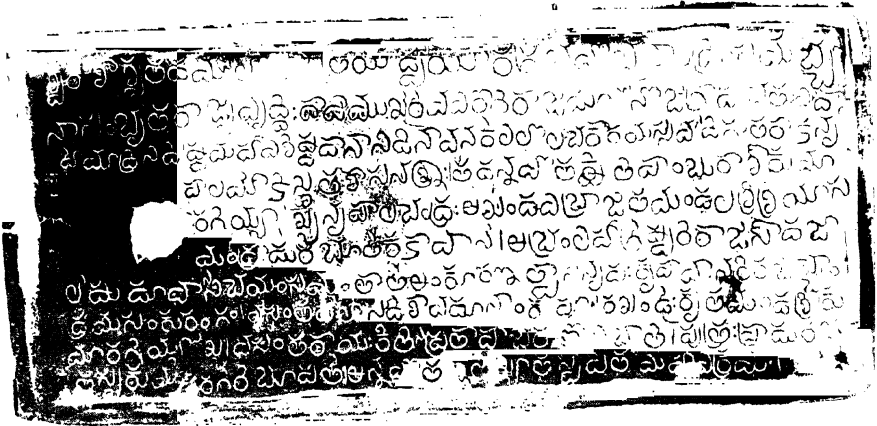
Second plate : First side



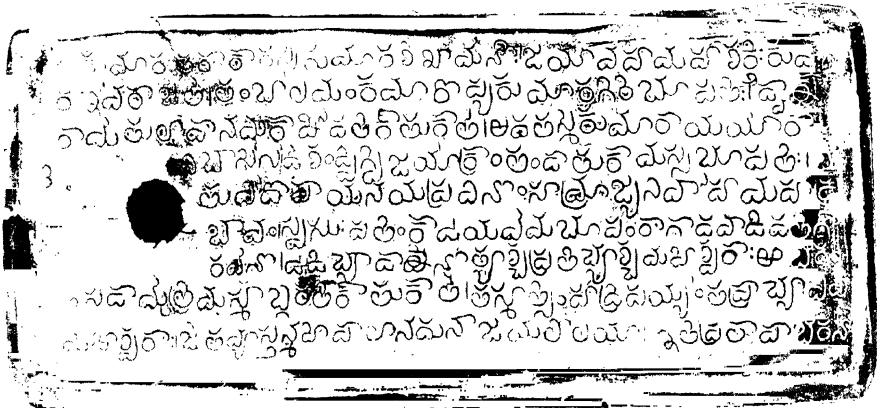
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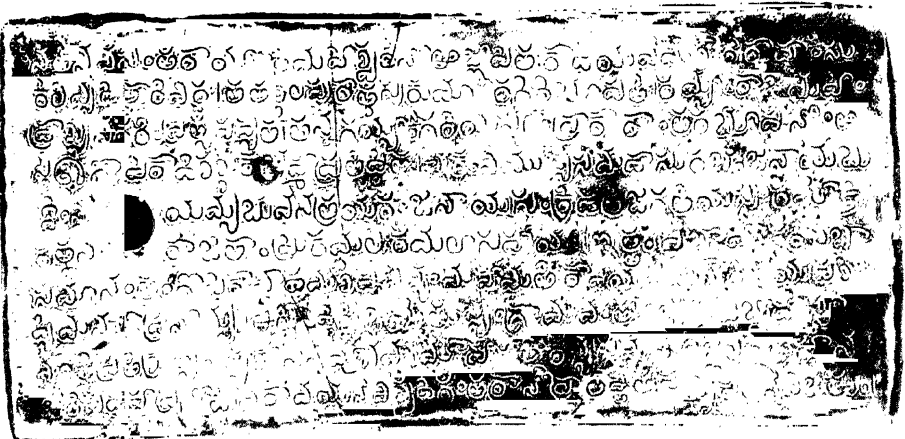
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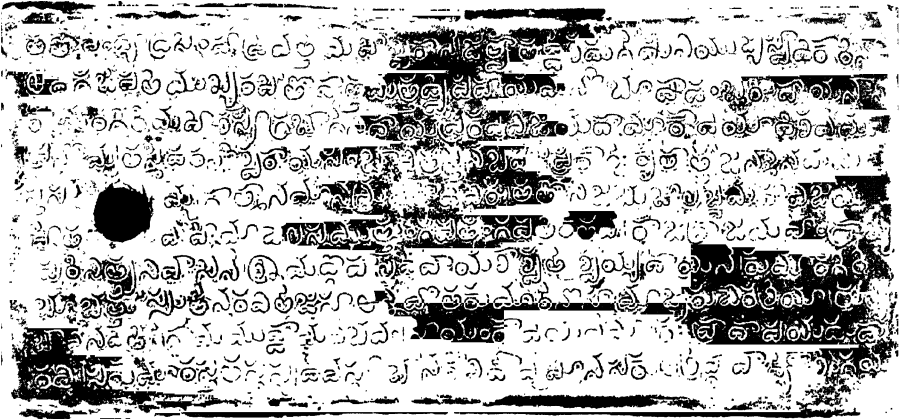


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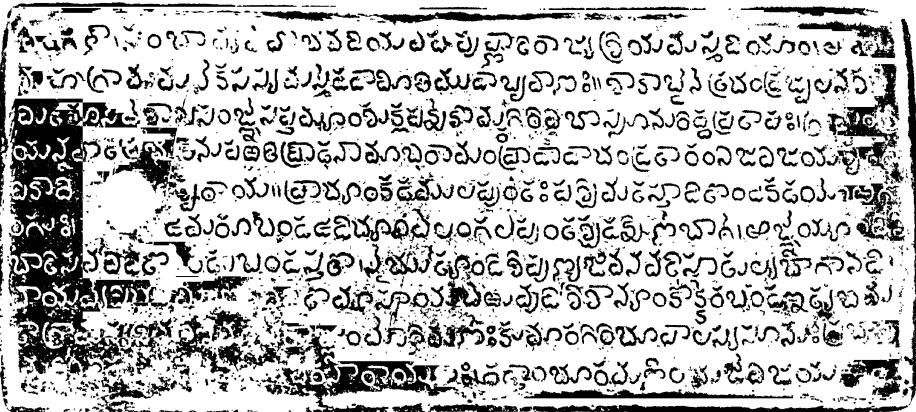


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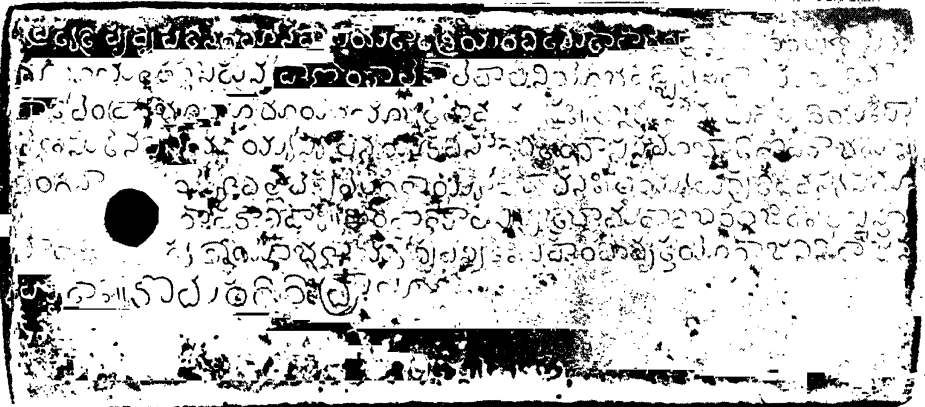




Fifth plate : First side



Fifth plate : Second side



meant an extension of the term of his lease. But since the Ichchapuram division (i.e. the Jalmur division) which had been recently acquired from Narayana Deo (as will be shown presently) and converted into the Company's *haveli* lands, had not yet come under the complete control of the government, he was only to consider himself as being placed in the temporary charge of its management, until the time had come when he could be styled renter.¹⁸

The settlement of the Ichchāpuram *pargana* began with the dismemberment of the Kimiḍi zamindari. During the long period of mismanagement in the district, Nārāyaṇa Deo, the rāja, had usurped the Zamindari of Tekkali, and the division of Jalmur. Now that he had been declared an outlaw, the Madras government deemed it essential to divest his family of all unauthorised accretions to the zamindari. The restoration of the Tekkali rāja to his hereditary estate would, it was thought, impress the inhabitants "with an idea of our moderation and of our desire to continue the several Zamindars in the ancient possessions so long as they remain obedient to the Company."¹⁹ As such, the zamindar was reinstated in his hereditary estate but with his tribute raised from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 a year. With respect to Jalmur which produced an annual rent of Rs. 50,000 it was found that it had always been part of the government's *haveli* lands and hence it was leased out to Akkāji as was shown above.²⁰

Cotsford inaugurated his settlement of the Ichchāpuram zamindaries, which had so far paid their tribute through the rāja of Vijayanagaram, with the rāja of Mohiri who readily accepted the Company's regime. But he was unable either to pay his tribute in full in ready money or supply adequate *sāhukar* security. To obviate this difficulty Cotsford, as a personal favour, accepted the rāja's own bond for the payment of the balance in easy instalments.²¹ The rāja further signed "a penalty bond" according to which he would forfeit his zamindari in the event of his accounts, on the basis of which a remission was given to him in connection

18 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 20 September 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 30 September, Vol. 62, pp. 1194—95.

19 *Same to same*, 15 August 1768, *idem*. 20 August *idem*. pp. 1016—20. Resolution of the Madras government pp. 1021—22 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 22 August pp. 1031—32.

20 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September, *Milit. Cons.* 12 September Vol. 62 pp. 1100—01; *Colonel Peach to Masulipatam*, Kimidi, 23 August pp. 1102—03, and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 14 September pp. 1100—1111.

21 *Cotsford to Madras*, Berhampore, 9 August 1768, *idem*. 5 September, *idem*. pp. 1076—78.

with the depredations of Nārāyaṇa Deo, turning out to be false.²² The tribute of Dhārakōṭa was raised beyond the usual amount paid during the preceeding twelve years but with a remission on account of the losses sustained during Nārāyaṇa Deo's rebellion.²³

So far matters had been smooth for Cotsford. He was careful not to apprise the zamindars of the Madras government's aim of depriving them of their *sibbandies*. But since the group of zamindari known as the Mahēndra Malai (consisting of Taria, Mandasa, Budarasingi, Jalandra and Surangi) were practically defenceless, he sent one of his agents "to take possession of the crops on the ground with some armed peons till they pay their tribute for the current year, as without Soucar security it is absolutely necessary to deal with them in this manner for they are (not) to be trusted".²⁴

With regard to Ghumsur, Cotsford was obliged to proceed with caution. This zamindari served more or less as a buffer between the Maratha government of Cuttack and the Company's government at Madras. Since the raja was unwilling to give up the ten villages which Cotsford claimed as originally belonging to the government's *havēli* lands, he "thought it more adviseable to yield something than make him our enemy at this time". With regard to the raja of Sourera, Cotsford was able to enhance his tribute without any opposition on the part of the former.²⁵ But since the raja of Biridi refused to surrender a pargana which he had been illegally possessed of since the time of Bussy's march through the Chicacole Sarkar in 1757, his fort was stormed and a settlement imposed upon him by force.²⁶ The raja of Humma readily came to terms.²⁷ But military force had to be used against the raja of Hautgur. On the contrary, Kallikōṭa quietly acquiesced in the Company's regime. As to Vijayanagar (Pedda Kimidi) the raja not only paid his tribute in full but also assigned over to the Company a considerable number of his villages. In all these last three cases, the sum of tribute "rather exceeded what they have usually paid to the government".

Thus, before the end of 1768 and before fresh troubles were to start in the Chicacole Sarkar, Cotsford was able to settle with nine zamindars of the Ichchāpuram *Paragana*. As has been shown below, his

²² *Same to same*, Ganjam, 18 August *idem*. 12 September, *idem*. p. 1104—05.

²³ *Cotsford to Madras*, Aska, 17 September, *Milit. Cons.* 30 September Vol. 62, pp. 1245—46.

²⁴ *Same to same*, 20 September, *idem*. 13 October, *idem*, pp. 1280—83.

²⁵ *Same to same*, 25 September 1768 *idem*. 15 October, *idem*, pp. 1305—06.

²⁶ *Cotsford to Madras*, 25 October, *Milit. Cons.* Vol. 62, pp. 1558—62.

²⁷ *Idem*. p. 1563.

²⁸ *Same to same*, Vijayanagar 21 November *idem*. 12 December Vol. 64 pp. 1804—06. Madras approved these measures in *Madras to Cotsford* 14 December *idem*, pp. 1821—23.

settlement resulted in an increase of the *jamabandi* traditionally paid by the zamindars. But to the credit of Cotsford it must be pointed out that, notwithstanding the previous orders of the Madras government to the effect that the zamindars should not pay any sums to Nārāyana Deo, and that in case they paid any, no future claims would be allowed on that account. He sacrificed nearly forty per cent of the revenues for 1767—68 in the shape of remissions on account of losses sustained by these zamindars. The following table clearly illustrates this point.

Cotsford's Settlement of the Ichchāpuram zamindaries (1768—69).

Zamindari	Tribute for 1767.	Deductions on account of Narayana Deo's depredations	Balance due.	No. of kists.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Mohiri	45,000	17,000	28,000	4
Dhārakōṭa	25,001	7,731	17,270	4
Ghumsur	30,001	10,001	20,000	3
Sourera	2,801	700	2,101	4
Biridi	5,001	2,500	2,501	7
Humma	3,001	2,147 ²⁹	854	1
Kallikōṭa	34,001	7,908	26,093	4
Hautgur	37,000	10,579	26,421 ³⁰	3
Vizayanagar (Pedda Kimidi)	47,001	6,446 ³¹	40,555	3

One of the most important and far-reaching results of Cotsford's settlement of the Ichchāpuram zamindars for 1768-69 was the systematic recovery and increase of the Company's *haveli* lands. The arguments used in justification of this policy of depriving the zamindars of these lands were threefold. The first was that during the period of anarchy and confusion which had long prevailed in the Chicacole Sarkar prior to its acquisition by the Company, the more powerful rajas encroached upon the tracts of their weaker neighbours. Since no authentic *sanads* for these accretions, either from the powerless Mughal Emperor or from the lax government of the *subadar* of the Dekhan, were forthcoming, the zamindars had no right to them. Secondly, some zamindars had appropriated to themselves the original *khalsa* lands of the Muhammadan government. As the repository of all civil authority in the Sarkars and as the successor to the

29 This sum includes Rs. 325 paid to Akkaji.

30 In part payment of this, rice to the value of Rs. 3,000 was to be accepted.

31 Of this Rs. 1446 were paid to Akkaji.

Muhammadan regime, the Company had the right to reclaim all such *khalsa* lands. The third argument became operative only in the case of recalcitrant zamindars. It was in the shape of nemesis that the government claimed certain portions of the defiant zamindari at once to humble them and to warn their more peaceful neighbours.

The first deliberate attempt to create the *havēli* lands of the Ichchāpuram *paragana* was made when the Kimidi zamindari was dismembered and Jalmur liberated and finally rented to Akkaji.³² The raja of Mohiri delivered up thirteen villages valued at Rs. 6,000 a year, but was allowed to retain three which had been granted to him in 1746 by Jafar Ali Khan, *naib* of Nizam-ul Mulk.³³ Hautgur again, surrendered thirteen villages—ten valued at Rs. 7,646 a year and formerly enjoyed as an *inam* by Gode Rāmadās, *naib* of Sītārāma Razu, and three more in charge of Hautmaram.³⁴ Kissen Bhanj, the raja of Ghumsur, parted with thirteen of the twenty three disputed villages.³⁵ The raja of Humma was compelled to deliver up a whole *pargana* which was incorporated into the *havēli* lands. Bhima Deva, raja of Vijayanagar (Pedda Kimidi) gave up the Korla *pargana* valued at Rs. 7,000 a year. He also surrendered another village in the Pubbakonda *pargana* rated at Rs. 2,000 a year.³⁶

. 32 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 12 September Vol. 62 pp 1100–01. See also *Madras to Masulipatam* 14 September *idem.* pp. 1100–11.

33 *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam 18 August *idem.* 12 September *idem.* pp. 1104–05.

34 *Cotsford to Madras*, Aska 20 September *Milit. Cons.* 13 October Vol. 62 pp 1280–85. See also *Same to same*, Vijayanagar 21 November *idem.* 12 December Vol. 64 pp 1804–05.

Hautmaram was evidently a Marwari *sahukar* engaged in revenue business in this Sarkar.

35 *Same to same*, Aska 25. September *idem.* 15 October Vol. 62 pp 1305–06.

36 The transactions relative to Humma and Pedda Kimidi were related in *Same to same*, Vijayanagar 21. November *idem.* 12 December Vol. 64 pp. 1804–05.

The name of the *pargana* delivered up by Humma was not mentioned in the records.

(To be continued)

MURUPAKA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAYARMA- CHODA-GANGA DEYA (Dated Saka Samvat 1005).

Prof. R. SUBBA RAO, M A., L.T.,

Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry

HISTORY OF THE PLATES: Sometime back, my esteemed friend, Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., obtained this set of plates from a friend and handed it over to me for publication in this journal. It contains five plates, each measuring $7\frac{5}{8}$ " by $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". The first and the fifth plates are inscribed on one side only, the other side being left blank to serve as a cover to the set. The ring holding the plates is $1\frac{3}{4}$ " thick and 4" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the lower portion of an oblong conch-like seal on the back of which is fixed a circular seat containing in high relief an image of a couchant humped bull (*Nandi*), facing to the front, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. Round the bull, on the surface of the disc, are found in relief the figures of sun, chowrie, etc. The ring has been cut by me at the time of taking the estampages of the plates. The five plates weigh in all 107 tolas and the ring with its seal weighs 38 tolas.

ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE: The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The whole inscription contains 73 lines of Sanskrit matter both in prose and poetry. The alphabet, which is inscribed clearly in old *Nāgari* type, can be read easily. It resembles that of the Kornī and the Vizagapatam C.P. grants of the same king which were long ago published by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII and which were dated in Śāka years 1003 and 1057 respectively.

The following orthographical points may be noted: (i) *v* is used throughout for denoting *b*, as in *sāvda* in line 7, and *lavdha* in line 9, both in plate 1 (b). (ii) *l* is distinguished from *n* by a small stroke on the top of *l*. (iii) *Pūrṇānuṣvāra* symbol is shown by a circle or dot placed sometimes on the right top corner of the letter and sometimes between letter and letter. (iv) The final *m* is shown by a *virāma* (stroke of inverted crescent) placed under the *bindu* (circle) as in *gōthraṇām* and *mashīṇām* in lines 3 and 4 of Plate 1. (b). (v) There is no distinction shown between *ś* and *ṣ* as in words *śalila* (l. 3) and *saṅkha* (l. 7) in Plate 1 (b). (vi) The conjuncts *ñch* and *ñchh* are shown by *ch* and *chh* being written first and then *ñ* separately after them. (cf. *pañcha* in lines 14 and 46.) (vii) The consonants after *r* are generally doubled as in *rvviṣhṇōr* in line 11, *Kāmārṇava* in l. 14. (viii) *j* is used for *jj* as in *samujvala* in line 8 Plate 1 (b). In almost all the Gāṅga Plates, the word is

written like that only. (ix) \bar{a} is expressed by a line drawn to the right from the top of the letter and on a level with its headstroke. (x) i is formed by a crescent-like stroke drawn from the top-centre of the letter to the left bottom, while \bar{i} is formed by a similar stroke to the right bottom [cf. i and \bar{i} in Svasti \bar{s} rī in line 1 in Plate 1 (b)] (xi) e and \bar{e} are expressed by a line drawn to the left from the top of the letter and on a par with its headstroke. (xii) u is expressed by an inverted crescent-like stroke at the bottom of the letter from the right to the left and \bar{u} by a similar stroke from the left to the right. (xiii) The difference between pa and pha is expressed by a small circle being placed at the right top corner of p . (xiv) A small stroke below n gives the final form of n , i.e., the dental n sound as in *nivahan* and *abkanan*. (xv) The final form of m and r are shown by omitting the top strokes of the letters. (xvi) The use of *prithvim* and *pitri* for *prthvim* and *pitr* is peculiar; similarly the use of *trkāṭe* for *trikaṭe* in plate 4 (a) and (b). (xvii) There are several mistakes committed by the scribe and proper readings are given in the footnotes.

SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE PLATES: It resembles, up to the portion defining the actual grant with its boundaries, closely that given in the Korni Plates of this king dated Śaka 1003 published in this *Journal* (Vol. I, pp. 40-48) and the Vizagapatam plates of this king of the same year and also Ś. 1057 published in *Ind. Ant.* (Vol. XVIII, pp. 161 and 172) and also the grant of this king dated Śaka year 1006 and published in this *Journal* Vol. VIII pp. 191 ff. The genealogy and the chronology, given in all these plates, also agree closely with all those given in all the grants of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja and differ from those given in the Korni plates dated Ś. 1034 published in this *Journal* (Vol. I, pp. 106-121) and the Vizagapatam plates of this king dated Ś. 1040 published in *Ind. Ant.* (Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172). The former should therefore be believed to be more historical and correct.

The grant, made on the occasion of winter solstice, consists of the village of Murupāka situated in the District of Ērada. Its date is Ś. 1005. The village was made into a *Devabhoga* for Narēndēśvara Dēva. The village of Sattivāda in the same Ērada Dist. was granted to Gaṇapati Nāyaka by Vajrahasta III in Ś. 971. (*Vide* p. 155 of *JAHRs.* Vol. VIII.) The present grant was made for the maintenance of five Brahmins who should conduct worship of God and do repairs to the temple *Vimāna*.

Among the boundaries of the village granted are mentioned ten more villages, viz., Nantivādana, Vara, Lōvana, Lēmjaraha, Śrīmasraka, Krōnvera, Vijayapura, Vūrumūrā, Vīmada and Rēmga Ērada *vishaya* may be identified with Vizianagaram Taluk wherein are found Murupāka and some other villages still.

The grant is said to be written by Dāmōdara, son of *Mahākhāyastha* (the great Alderman) and *Sandhi-vigrahi* (Secretary

for Peace and War) Māvūraya and inscribed by Mahākshaśāli (the great letter-writer) Vallēmōju. The same set of people are found to have done the same duties in Ś. 971 in the time of this king's grandfather Vajrahastadēva III. (Vide JAHRS. Vol. VIII p 1166). The Korni plates of Anantavarma-Chōḍagañga, dated Ś. 1034, were written by Vallēna Achārya's son Bhattēna (Vide JAHRS. Vol. I, p. 124). The present Set of plates, dated Ś. 1005, was written by Vallēma Ōju who must be the same as Vallēma Achārya. The engraver of Korni plates of this very same king dated Ś. 1003 was also Vallemōju (Vide JAHRS. p. 48, Vol. I). This Vallemōju is the son of Nunkamōju as stated in Vajrahasta's C. P. grant dated Ś. 932 (Vide Bodḍapādu plates published in the Bharati, a Telugu monthly of Madras, Vol. III pp 82—94). Thus, during three reigns, we get three names of engravers of official records. The word Akshaśāli seems to have given birth to Agaśāli which means now a kamsāli or goldsmith. Similarly, the word āchārī seems to have given birth to āsārī which is also a term for a goldsmith in South India.

Text*

First Plate: Second Side.

1. Ōm.¹ Svasti śrīmata²m=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dā
2. kshiṇya-satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyyādi guṇaratna-pavitrakāṇām³ = Ā-
3. trēya-gōtrāṇām vimala-vichārāchāra-puṇya śālila⁴-prakshālita-ka-
4. likāla-kalmasha-mashīṇām mahā Mahēndrāchala śikhara pratishṭhi-
5. tasya sa charāchāra guroḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmmāṇaika-sūtra-
6. dhārasya śaśāṅka chūdāmaṇēr-bhbbhagavatō Gōkarṇṇa svāmīna-
7. ḥ prasādāt-samāsāditaika saṅkha⁵ohērī pañcha mahā śavda⁶-dhavala-
8. chchhatra-hēma-chāmara-vara-vṛshabhalāṁchchhana samujvala⁷ sa-
- masta sāmra-
9. jya mahimnām anēka samarasaṅghaṭṭa sam-upalavdha⁸ vijayalakshmi-
- samā-
10. liṅgit=ōttuṅga bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānām Tṛkaliṅga⁹-mahībhujām

Second Plate: First Side.

11. Gaṅgānām-anvayam-alaṅkarishṇōr=Vvishṇōr=iva Vikram=ākrānta-dharāmaṇḍala-

* Prepared from the original Copper-plates, These plates are now presented by me to the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society at the request of Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., vakil, who first acquired them.

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------|---|-----------|
| 1 | Expressed by a symbol. | 2 | Read tā. |
| 3 | Read kāṇām=Ā. | 4 | „ salila. |
| 5 | „ śaṅkha. | 6 | „ śabda. |
| 7 | „ samujjala. | 8 | „ labdha. |
| 9 | „ Trikaliṅga. | | |

12. sya Guṇamahārṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ || Śrī - Vajrahastadēvaś=chatus=cha-
 13. tvārimśatam-avdakān¹⁰ kṣhitim=arakshit | Tat-tanayō Guṇḍamarājā¹¹ varsha-tra-
 14. yam-apālayat | Tad-anu tadanujah Kāmārṇava-dēvaḥ pañcha-tri-
 15. mśad-varshāṇi | Tasy ānujō Vinayādityas-samā-stitraḥ¹² | Ta-
 16. taḥ Kāmārṇava-tanayō Vajrahastah | Yō | madagaliṭa gaṇḍān
 17. gajān-sahasram=artthibyaḥ samadāt sa-pañcha-trimśatam-avda¹³
 18. kān | Tatas=tad-agra-sūnu h* | Kāmārṇava-dēv=ōrttha samām [| *] Tatas-tadanu-
 19. jō Guṇḍamahīpati¹⁴s-triṇi varshāṇi | Tadanu tasya dvai-māturō

Second Plate: Second Side.

20. Madhukāmārṇava ēkōna vimśati varshāṇi | Tataḥ Kāmā-
 21. rṇad¹⁵-Vaidumvā¹⁶nvaya samudbhavāyām Vinayamahādēvyā¹⁷jāta-
 22. ḥ śrī Vajrahasta-dēvō dēvaḥ patantam-atibhīshaṇam=aśanīm
 23. sastryābhi¹⁸ jaghānasa trayatrim¹⁹śatam=avdakān²⁰=avanim=
 apālayat
 24. Tatastu tasy-ātma bhāv=ōri-marddanas-sa-Rājarāja-kshitipa-
 25. ḥ kṣhitim samāḥ || arakshad aṣṭau varuṇālayām varā²¹
 26. n nidhir-gguṇānām²²nnidhi pāla-sannibhaḥ || Tatō Rājēndra-
 27. chōla²³sya tanayā Rājasundarī rājās=tasy=āgramahishī-sa-
 28. tī sutam=asūyata || Śākāvdē²⁴ Nanda-randhra-graha gaṇa gaṇi-

Third Plate: First Side.

29. tē Kumbhasamsthē dinēśē śuklē-pakshē tritīyā²⁵ yuji raviya-di
 30. nē Rēvatībhē nṛ-yugmē lagnē Gaṅgā-nvavāyāmbu²⁶ja vana di-
 31. na kridviścha²⁷ viśvam̐bhārā yām²⁸ chakraṁ sa²⁹ rakshitum
 sadguṇa ni-
 32. dhir=adhipaś Chōdagaṅg=ōbhishiktīḥ³⁰ || Kaliṅga na-
 33. garāt=Parama-māhēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mā.³¹
 34. hārājādhirāja Trikaliṅgādhipatiḥ Śrīmad=Anantava-

10 Read *abdakān.*

12 „ *sutrah.*

14 „ *pati.*

16 „ *Vaidumba.*

18 „ *sastryābhir.*

20 „ *abdakān.*

22 „ *nān nidhi.*

23 There is slight difference between *la* and *la*.

24 Read *śākābdē.*

26 „ *Gaṅgānvayāmbu*

28 „ *yās.*

30 „ *taḥ*

11 Read *rājō.*

13 „ *abda.*

15 „ *rṇnavād.*

17 „ *dēvyām.*

19 „ *trayastrim.*

21 „ *barā.*

25 Read *tritiyā.*

27 „ *kridviśva*

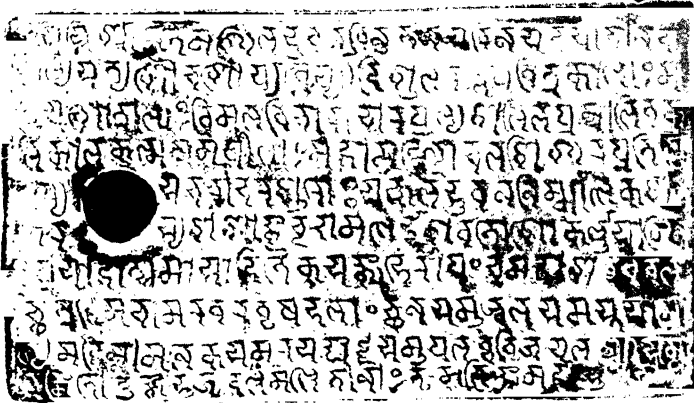
29 „ *sam.*

31 „ *ma.*

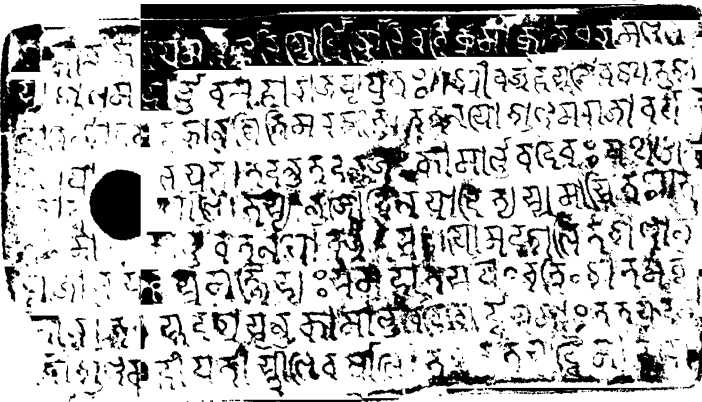
MURUPAKA GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGADEVA

DATED, S. S. 1005

First Plate



Second plate : first side



the white parasol, the golden chowrie and the excellent bull-crest, through the favour of the divine Gōkarnaśvāmin (Śiva), who is the lord of all the animate and inanimate world, who is the sole architect in the construction of the whole Universe and who has on his head the moon as an ornament; who were adorned with lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by the goddess of Victory, obtained in the conflict of many battles and who were the lords of the country of the Three Kalingas—

(Ll. 12 to 17).—The illustrious Vajrahastadēva protected the earth for 44 years. His son, Guṇḍama Rāja ruled for 3 years and his younger brother, Kāmārṇava dēva for 35 years (and) his younger brother, Vinayāditya for 3 years. Then, Kāmārṇava's son, Vajrahasta who gave away to applicants a thousand elephants, whose temples were trickling with rut, (ruled) for 35 years.

(Ll 18 to 23).—Then his eldest son, Kāmārṇavadēva (reigned) for half an year and then his younger brother, Gunda Raja for 3 years and then his maternal half-brother, Madhukāmārṇava for 19 years. Then, there was born to Kāmārṇava by Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family, the illustrious king Vajrahasta, who struck down with his sword the most terrible thunderbolt falling from Heaven, and who ruled for 33 years.

(Ll. 24 to 26).—Then, his son, king Rājarāra, the destroyer of foes, a mine of good qualities who like Kubēra, protected, for 8 years, the earth surrounded by the sea.

(Ll. 27 to 28).—Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājendra Chōla and the chief queen consort of the king (Rājarāja) bore a son.

(ll. 29 to 32).—(This son) King Chōḍagaṅga, the sun to the collection of the lotus flowers of the Gaṅga race and a mine of good qualities was, for the purpose of protecting the circle of the world, anointed king in the śaka year 999, denoted by the Nandas (9), apertures (9), planets (9), when the sun was in the *Kumbha* (Aquarius) on Saturday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight, under the Rēvatī star and during the Mithuna (Gemini) *lagna*.

(Ll. 33 to 36).—From the city of Kalinganagara, the illustrious Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga, the devout worshipper of (God) Mahēśvara, the devout Lord Paramount, the great King of kings, lord of Tri-kaliṅga being in good health, having called together all the subjects (*Janapadas*) headed by the chief *Amātyas*, (Ministers) commands:—"Be it known to you all:

(Ll. 37 to 47).—That, for the increase of the merit and fame of (my) mother, father and myself, the village of Murupāka, situated in Ērada *Vishaya* (District) enclosed by the four boundaries, has been with all the waters granted by us, free of all molestations, and as long as moon and sun last, in the śaka year, 1005, denoted by moon (1), air (0),

sky (o), spirits (ḡ), on the occasion of 'summer' solstice (*Uttarāyana Samkrānti*) for rendering services like worshipping, offering, dancing, singing verses in praise and beating drum etc., for God Narēndrēśvaradēva and also for affecting repairs to *Vimāna* (the pinnacle of the temple of God) and a *Vṛtti* (life sustenance grant) has been established out of the village granted for the following five persons:—(1) Chāmēnasarma, the son of Dārapaśarmma of Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (2) His obedient disciple Dāmōdara's son called Rēmāna (3) one called Nāvana, the son of Prolaya who was born in that family (4) one named Ayitana, son of Pinnapa (5) and one called Yōmana, son of Vālēna. This grant has been made for the protection of the *Dēvasthānam* (Temple of Narēndrēśvara). The boundaries of the said village are written as follows:

(Ll. 48-68).—To the east lies a stone erected; to the south of it lies Gumuru *vāsikā*(?) at the meeting place of the three villages, *viz.*, Murupāka, Nantivādāna and Vara; to the north-east of it lies a stone erected at the meeting place of the 3 villages, *viz.*, Murupāka, Lōvana and Vara; to the north-west of it lies a stone erected; to the west of it lies a group of *tintriṇī* (tamarind) trees and to the south of it lies an anthill and to its east also another ant-hill and to the north-east of it yet another ant-hill. To its south lies a stone erected at the meeting place of the three villages, *viz.*, Murupāka, Lēmjaraha and Srēmasraka and to its south lies a garden *Kākavanam* (?) and to its south a wasteland and anthill; to its north lies a group of *tintriṇī* trees and to its west also the same group of trees, while to its south *Nijjana* trees. To its west lies a stone erected on a tank bund and to its south lie the tank bund and the *tintriṇī* trees at the meeting place of the 3 villages *viz.*, Murupāka, Lōva and Krōnvera. To the south-west lies a pit (*garta*) at the meeting of the three villages, *viz.*, Murupāka, Krōnvēra and Vijayapura and to the west of it lies another pit (*garta*) at the meeting place of the three villages, *viz.*, Murupāka, Vijayapura and Vurumūra; to the corner between north and west lies a herb (*gulma*) at the meeting place of the three villages *viz.*, Murupāka, Vurumūra, and Vimada. To the east of it lies, in an irregular way, an anthill and in a bend lies in a similar way another anthill. To its north lie *tintriṇī* trees and to their east an anthill and to its north lies hillock at the meeting place of the three villages, *viz.*, Murupāka, Vimada and Rēmga. To the north lies a shrub and to the north-east lies the sunsuit of a hillock and to its north-east an anthill and to its east a line of *tintriṇī* trees and in the north-east direction *tintriṇī* trees again,

(Ll. 68-71).—The two usual imprecatory verses are given.

(Ll. 71-73).—This was written by Dāmōdara, the son of *Mahā-khāyastha* (the great Alderman) and *Sandhivigrahi* (the Secretary for Peace and War) Māvuraya and inscribed by *Mahākshasāli* (the great letter-writer) Vallēma *Ōju*.

RUINS OF THE BUDDHIST PERIOD ON THE MOUND OF SARANGADHARA AT RAJAHMUNDRY

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

About a mile from the outskirts of Rajahmundry on the north, there is a small ridge about two hundred yards in length and about 90 feet in height. The ridge runs from east to west and faces the Godavari which flows beyond in a southerly direction about a mile away. The ridge has a cross section running from south to north near or towards its western summit. It has flat top; its middle portion is slightly larger and higher than the western and eastern summits. On the edge of the central mound, on its northern corner, there is an old large deep well with a spiral flight of steps leading to the edge of the water below. The protecting structure at the top had disappeared long ago though traces of it are still visible. I have attempted to go near and look into it once or twice; and according to my estimate the water level is approximately sixty feet below.

For purposes of this description the northern offshoot or the terminus of the cross-ridge which runs from south to north crossing the main hillock may be called Mound 'A'. It is the smallest mound in the locality and is at a distance of about 50 yards from the main ridge 'B' which runs east to west. Formerly the mound 'A' must have been connected with the main cliff 'B' by a flat topped saddle which apparently contained a pathway. On this top of the hillock 'A' are to be found traces of masonry structure circular in shape. The super structure had long ago disappeared. But several bricks were recovered from the place. People in recent times had dug up large bricks from the place and carried them away for their purposes. The whole area is now covered even to the foot of the mound with rubble stone which must have been used at one time in the masonry construction that once stood there.

The main ridge which has been denominated 'B' consists of three cliffs. The first one 'B-1' is the western terminus of the ridge. This has a flat top, which occupies an area of about 50 feet by 70 feet. It had, till about ten years ago when I saw it carefully for the first time, traces of foundations of brick masonry covering almost the entire summit. The foundations have been found, by the subsequent digging up of the entire area, to be about 12 feet deep. There is now in the centre of it a temple on the old foundations, which was built by a Visva-brahmin who claims to be a saint. Thus for all time there is no chance of knowing what stood on the spot. Still at the back of the temple that is on the eastern side there are to be found traces of a brick structure.

To the south of this terminus, 'B-1' stands another detached cliff which seems to have formed the southern terminus of the cross-ridge.

This mound 'A-1' on the south corresponds to the Mound 'A' mentioned above on the north. There were traces of masonry structure on this but during the last one decade the area had been completely dug up, like a pit and large bricks were removed for the construction of the temple near by. All the rubble stone that had fallen down the slopes these mounds lies scattered over the entire area. On the main ridge itself, the central part seems to be the largest area with a fairly large and levelled ground measuring roughly an acre. Here also must have stood some buildings though the exact nature of them cannot be traced or ascertained at this distance of time. That is the spot which, in local tradition, is called the Mound of Sārangadhara. There it is said the unfortunate prince suffered the cruel punishment meted out to him his thoughtless father. There it is said that his legs and hands were severed and that he was left to the care and protection of a benevolent saint who restored them to him in course of time. There were found some years ago ruins of a Śiva shrine but all of them had since been removed by some unknown people. There is only a huge slab on the site which contains the figure of a winged *garuḍa* in human form.

The story of Sārangadhara is somewhat persistently connected with this mound, which has also distinct traces of buildings that existed in former times. It is possible that this mound was in some manner which cannot be traced to-day connected with Buddhism in the early centuries before or after the Christian era. There is absolutely no evidence to assume that this mound was in any way connected with the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarājanarēndra and his son Rājendra Chōḍa-dēva. There is a close similarity, however, between the legend of Sārangadhara that still persists in this locality and the *Mahā Paduma Jātaka-katha*.¹ To this day on the 3rd day after the *Makara Samkrānti*, which is called *Mulkanumu* in Telugu, a great festival is held in honour of the unfortunate prince Sārangadhara at the mound where people particularly of the lower castes gather in large numbers from all the neighbouring villages. The significance of this festival cannot be known, for it is peculiar to this locality.

The Mahā Paduma Jātaka. Once upon a time when Brahmadatta was king of Benares the Bōdhisattva was born as the son of his chief queen, and for the beautiful countenance he had was called Paduma kumāra or the Lotus Prince. When he grew up he was well educated in all arts and sciences. When the chief queen died the king took another this there was a rebellion on the frontier and the king departed to quell consort, but appointed his son Paduma-kumara viceroy. Sometime after that insurrection leaving the city and the kingdom in the charge of his son Paduma-kumāra. When the prince learnt that his father had destroyed the enemies and was returning home he made suitable arrange-

1 The *Jataka*, Vol. IV, No. 472, pp. 116-121, Cambridge University Press, 1901.

ments for a triumphal entry for his father. At that time the queen saw the prince and having become enamoured of his beauty, endeavoured to seduce him from his virtue. The prince would not, however, yield to her entreaties. Frustrated in her desires the queen resolved to take revenge, in order to protect herself by destroying the prince. So she feigned illness, and when the king questioned her, complained of the molestation by the prince and showed him signs in proof of that. The king made no enquiry but became furious like a serpent. He commanded his men to fetch the prince immediately tied hand and foot to his presence. When the prince was brought like a condemned person, with his hands bound behind his neck and a garland of red flowers round the neck and beaten all the way, the king could not restrain his wrath. He condemned his son to be done away with over the Robbers' Cliff. The prince said to his father that he was innocent but the king would not listen to him. The nobles and warriors of the realm remonstrated in vain to save the life of the unfortunate prince. While the populace wailed around him the king, unmoved, commanded the prince to be taken away, and caused him to be seized and cast down the precipice over heels head first. But the prince was saved from death by a Nāga (serpent) king who caught hold of him in his coils when he was falling down the precipice, took him to his abode and gave him half of his kingdom. After spending a year in the Nāga world, prince Paduma retired to the Himalayas and embraced the religious life. Sometime after, a wood ranger of Benares saw Paduma-kumāra now turned an ascetic, recognised him and carried the news to the king. The king went thither with his entourage to the hermitage of the prince and requested him to forget the past and return to the kingdom to accept the crown. Paduma-kumara declined to give up the religious life and now the king learning that he was deprived of so virtuous a son by the machinations of his second wife, caused her to be punished by being seized and hurled headlong over the self-same Robbers' Cliff.

Prince Paduma is Sārangadhara in the local legend and the vile queen of the *Jātaka haṭṭa katha* is Chitrāṅgi. The mound of Sārangadhara plainly answers to the description of the Robbers' or Thieves Cliff, where there is a deep, precipitous well which is two or three palms deep. Tradition says that into that well the king caused his second queen to be hurled as a punishment for her crime. It is, therefore, quite probable that the locality of the Mound of Sārangadhara was connected with Buddhism in ancient times and that the story of the Mahā Paduma *Jātaka* was perpetuated on this spot in some form of which we have no traces to discover at present.

In this connection I am tempted to make an observation regarding Buddhism in Āndhradeśa. A characteristic feature of the Āndhra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to be the peculiar form of perpetuating certain *Jātaka* legends in well known places connected with

Buddhism in Āndhradēśa. Thus we have the celebrated Piṣṭapura or Piṭhikāpura, the modern Pithapuram in East Godavari District but strictly speaking Piṭakapura, "the City of the Piṭakas" or Piṭṭapura, "the City of the Bird." The name Piṭṭapura suggests that the city was connected with the legend of the bird or the *Kukkuṭa Jātaka*. It is difficult to say which of the two was the earlier form of the name of the city which was renowned in ancient times as the seat of Buddhism in the Southern Kalinga. Piṣṭapura, which is plainly the Sanskritised form of Piṭṭapura, is called to this day Pāda Gaya, and the shrine of Kukkuṭēśvara Śiva in that locality reminds us of the *Kukkuṭa-Jātaka*. Pāda Gaya is believed to be the spot where the feet of the Gayāsura are to be found while the head of the demon is believed to be in Buddha Gaya in the north. Piṭṭapura would seem to have been connected with the *Jātaka* legend *Kukkuṭa-jātaka* for, in Pithapuram, there is still an unexplored mound not very far removed from the shrine of Śiva called Kukkuṭēśvara and the Pāda Gaya-kṣhētra. Some marble stone pillars and beams were found near the spot sometime back, and the mound was neither explored nor preserved by the Archaeological Department despite the notice of the fact in the press. The *Sthalamāhātmyam* gives an interesting legendary account which I will take another opportunity to narrate in the pages of this *Journal*. Chēzerla in the Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district, is another place which is likewise connected with a *jātaka* legend. Here is the temple of Śiva called Kapōṭēśvara. The temple architecture plainly betrays its Buddhist origin. It was originally a *chaitya-grha* or apsidal temple with a barrel vaulted roof, a moon stone at the entrance and many other relics of its Buddhist antiquity and origin. The place was long ago dedicated to the Śibi *Jātaka*. Śrīparvata would seem to have been connected not only with the genuine *dhātu* of the Blessed Lord Buddha, but also with the Kosiya *Jātaka* or the Legend of the Owl, as *Gūba-guṭṭa* the name of a mound in that locality suggests. *Gūba guṭṭa* or "the mound of the owl" is the most centrally situated spot in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley; and on it stood once the (*Samma-Śimḥudāsa dhātuvara-parigrahītaḥ*) *Mahācheitya* of the *dhātu* of the perfectly Enlightened One.²

If the local legends and other *sthalamāhātmyams* of the places of Buddhist celebrity are examined, we may come across similar instances. At one time Buddhism enjoyed a strong hold on Āndhradēśa and there are innumerable traces all over the land of its glorious sway in former times. *Lanja-dibba* or "mound of the harlots" is a common name in Āndhradēśa for the mounds of Buddhist antiquity.

2 The original name might be Piṭakapura, "the city of the Piṭakas" which became Piṭṭapura "the city of the bird" in course of time in the pronunciation of the people. With the dropping of 'ka' the preceding 'ṭa' becomes doubled and this is a common feature of the Telugu language.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, p. 15, Ayaka Pillar Insc. C-3, text line 1.

A NOTE ON THE MANDASA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA*

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Mr. G. Ramadas edited these plates in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVII. p. 175 ff. This is a very interesting inscription in as much as this is the only grant, excluding the Kambakāya plates of Dēvēndravarma, which not only gives the *prafasti* of the early Gānga kings of Kaṭṭinga but supplies also the date in the Śaka era.

It is a well-known fact that all the early Gānga grants give the date in the Gānga or Gānga-Kadamba era but not in the Śaka era. The father of the Gānga Rājaraja I, Vajrahasta, who was crowned in Śaka 960, was the first king to inaugurate a new mode of writing the royal charters. He left off the old Gānga *prafasti* and formulated a new one in its place. Besides this, he discontinued the old Gānga era and began dating his grants in the Śaka era. He was also the first Gānga king to give in his records his family pedigree and to tell us the date of his coronation. His descendants followed him closely, so much so that we have the coronation dates of his son Rājaraja I, his grandson Anantavarma Cōḍaganga, and his great grandson Kāmārṇava and so on. Gānga charters that supply the family pedigree, the coronation date and the date of the grant in Śaka era are very rare, and in fact unknown prior to Vajrahasta. Likewise those that are dated in the Gānga era, with the old Gānga *prafasti* are not known subsequent to his reign. Hence it seems proper to ascribe the Kaṭṭinga grants with Śaka dates to a period subsequent to the accession of Vajrahasta to the throne. So his reign may be said to mark the parting of the ways between the old and new regimes. Thus, the Mandasa plates under review which contain the old Gānga *prafasti* and the new Śaka date really form a unique record of absorbing interest. It was briefly reviewed in the *Annual Report on*

* The date of the Mandasa plates has been a puzzle to the scholars who work at the Kaṭṭinga History, though the editor of these plates, Mr. G. Ramadas has interpreted it in his own way. There was much controversy regarding his interpretation. Many papers have been published and replies also were given by Mr. Ramadas to some of the points raised in them. But still I am not yet convinced of the arguments given by Mr. Ramadas. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao and some others ascribe these plates to Vajrahasta (III), father of Rājaraja. So do I. Some years back I clearly expressed that these plates belong to Vajrahasta (III), in my article on "The Kaṭṭinga Era", published in the Telugu monthly, *Bharati*, 1934.

It is quite a long time since I wrote this article but it has remained unpublished all the while. Since the papers including the latest have not shown me reason to alter my position I feel that I should state my view point by releasing this note for publication.

Epigraphy for 1918 (in para 17, on page 138), and the text has been made available (in the article mentioned above) by Mr. Rāmadās.

The plates record the gift of the village of Madhipatharakhaṇḍa in Mahēndrabhōga by Dharmakhēḍi, son of Bhīmakhēḍi¹ of the Kadamba family, who had Jayantyāpura for his capital. He was a subordinate of Anantavarma of the Gāṅga family, the overlord of all Kalinga. Because the donor of this grant was a Kadamba chief, the fish, perhaps the crest of the Kāṅga Kadambas, was engraved on the seal instead of the bull, the emblem of the Kāṅga-Gāṅgas.

The date of the grant is given in the lines 14-5 as follows:

*"Paramēśvara-Gaṅgāmalakulatilaka Śrīmad-Anantavrahmadēvasyā
rājyē Sakāvda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mata Jayantyāpure....."*

The date expressed by *Śakāvada Navaśataka* etc. was taken to be Śaka 976 by the Government Epigraphist and Śaka 913 by Mr. Ramadas. However both of them find another year also, expressed in line 34 of the text by *painārā* 15, which was corrected as *pandrārō*, the Oriya word for 15, by Mr. Ramadas. He reads lines 33 and 34 as follows:

*"Saradēvasanidhī gāḍasimā [] *] itasca bhituru [] *] sāmā-
stha padnārā 15 [] *] Sadatta paradattamvā jōhāreti"*

But while Mr. Ramadas holds it to be "*Samastha Padnārō*" of the donor Dharmakhēḍi, the Epigraphist takes it to be the regnal year 15 of Anantavarma, Dharmakhēḍi's over-lord. According to the "*Samastha* system" which is similar to the *anki* reckoning "*Samastha 15* gives only 13 years of actual reign". Hence Mr. Ramadas says that "the donor must have been crowned in Śaka 901". Then he observed "This is 59 years prior to Anantavarma Vajrabhastadēva that was crowned in Śaka 950. The king that was reigning over Kāṅga 59 years prior to the donor of the Naḍagām plates was Kāmārṇava IV. According to the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Cōḍagangadēva, Kāmārṇava IV appears to have reigned from Śaka 895 to Śaka 915; but according to the Naḍagām Plates he reigned from Śaka 888 to Śaka 915. In both the final year is the same. On the authority of the plates under study, the donor seems to have come to the estate in Śaka 901". Though, by the last sentence quoted here, Śaka 901 seems to be the date of Kāmārṇava, yet it cannot be mistaken to be his, as it really refers to the donor Dharmakhēḍi. Thus, Mr. Ramadas assigns the date of the grant to a subordinate chief, but not to the over-lord himself. If his interpretation is correct as against that of the Epigraphist then this is the only grant, as far as I have seen, which seems to be dated in the reign and regnal year of a subordinate chief rather than that of his over-lord. With due deference to Mr. Ramadas, I hold that the date mentioned in the record refers not to Dharmakhēḍi but to Anantavarma, his over-lord.

1 This may be read as Bhāmakhēḍi also. Between the secondary forms of *g* and *f* little difference is observed. .

How did Mr. Ramadas arrive at Śaka 913 and the Epigraphist at 976? By the term *Śakāvda* it is certain that the date refers to the Śaka era. What does the rest of the expression denote? If the term *rasa* is also taken to be part of the date then the fanciful way of expressing it is to be noted. This mode of expressing the date is peculiar. Generally the date in its entirety is expressed either by chronograms or cardinals or figures. In the grant under consideration, the first two figures are expressed in cardinals *nava* and *sapta* and the third figure by the chronogram *rasa*. Moreover, the first figure is given in hundred's place (*nava śataka*). But for *sapta* and *rasa* no place value is given. As expressed in this way, the date reads nine hundred and seven and six. As the first figure is given in hundreds, seven and six, even though their place values are not given, were taken by the Epigraphist in places of tens and units in their usual order. Thus, he arrived at the date Śaka 976. But Mr. Ramadas rejects this mode of reckoning. He says that if the place value of *nava* had not been given, the figures would have to be read backwards. So he takes the date as nine hundred and seven and six. Both seven and six being in the units place he adds these two figures and arrives at 913 as the date of the grant.^{1a} But in none of the epigraphic records so far discovered, the procedure adopted by Mr. Ramadas, is resorted to in the elucidation of dates.

No doubt need be entertained as to whether *rasa* forms part of the expression denoting the date: because *mīṭa* wrongly written for *mīṭ* indicates that it should be taken as forming an integral part of the expression. *Śakābdē navaśataka saptarasanite* is the correct form of that expression and this has been accepted both by Mr. Ramadas and the Epigraphy Department.

However, regarding the date, I hold a different opinion. One cannot but take nine in its hundred's place, as the given expression is *nava śataka*. As for the two remaining numbers I follow the rule *ankānām vāmatogatiḥ* and read them as sixty seven. We cannot apply the rule of reading the figures backwards, which is commonly followed in epigraphy to such examples as are found in *kāvya*s and works on prosody. Conversely, the principle, usually adopted in computing figures in literary works, is not applicable in interpreting the dates of inscriptions. In *kāvya*s no chronogram is employed in the text proper, except at the beginning or end of the work when the author wants to specify the date of his composition. Here in the Mandasa plates the chronogram

1a. Mr. G. Ramadas suggests examples from *Ramayana* to prove his case. (Vide, *ante*, Vol. IX, Part III p 18). In the examples cited by him the numerical figures in each case are connected by the conjunction *ca*. Its presence is enough to indicate that the figures have to be added. As there is no *ca* in the chronogram in the grant under review the adding of either all or a few of the numerical figures is not contemplated.

rasa is enough to indicate the rule that is to be followed in arriving at the date. So, in my opinion, assigning place value to *nava* does not come in the way of taking the other figures denoted by the cardinal *sapta* and the chronogram *rasa* in the old-time-honoured and approved method. Therefore, I hold that the date of the Mandasa plates to be Śaka 967.

Until we get more definite evidence to disprove the position I have taken, I think that this date may be accepted, as it is arrived at by following a rule commonly in vogue. Whether the date of the Mandasa plates is Śaka 967 or 976, *it is certain that this grant belongs to Vajrahasta*, and this Anantavarma is no other than Dēvēndravarma Madhukāmārṇava's successor Anantavarma-Vajrahasta.

As against this, Mr. Ramadas argues that this grant cannot be that of Vajrahasta for three reasons, namely (1) Vajrahasta's charters hitherto discovered uniformly differ from the plates under review, not only in style but in composition of letters as well; (2) "The *gōtra* and the genealogy of the family found" in his plates "are conspicuous by omission in these Mandasa plates"; (3) Vajrahasta was *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikalingādhipati* while the king of our plates was a simple *Mahārāja* and did not possess the title *Trikalingādhipati*. Let us see if we can answer these objections satisfactorily.

(1) It is commonly said that the Narsipatam plates² of Vajrahasta, dated Śaka 967 is the earliest of all his charters, so far discovered. But it is not so. Its date^{2a} is Śaka 987. Whatever may be its date the Nāgari characters that were employed in the Mandasa plates are not a whit different from those of the Narasipatam plates. I append here in a tabular form (See separate plate accompanying this article) the Nāgari letters from both sets of plates of Anantavarma for scholars to examine.

It cannot be supposed that all the charters of Vajrahasta were written and engraved by one and the same poet and scribe. As such, there may be variety and difference in style. Style is no criterion to fix the

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 147 ff.

2a The term denoting the bright half or the dark half of the month is not mentioned in the date portion of the grant. So the passage "*Mīnamāsa Navamā Sōmavārē*" should be interpreted as *Sōmavāra* or Monday, the ninth Solar day of the month of Mīna. The Saka year, given in figures was read by Dr. Sten Konow, the editor of the record as 967. Hence, it is generally taken to be the earliest grant of Vajrahasta (III) When I consulted "the Ephemeris" for knowing the correct English equivalent of the date, I found that the 9th day of *Mīnamāsa* in Saka 967—whether the year was taken to be either a current or an expired one—did not correspond to Monday. It was either Thursday or Friday. I re-examined the facsimile impressions of the plates given in the *Epigraphia Indica* and came to the conclusion that the Saka year is 987 but not 967. In Saka 987 (current) the ninth day of Mīna corresponds exactly to Monday. The correct English equivalent of this date is Monday, 1st of March, 1064 A. D. I think this is the correct date of the grant. In Lunar reckoning the date corresponds to the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna. So, on these grounds, I hold that this—the Narasipatam plates—is not the earliest of the grants of Vajrahasta (III) so far discovered.

A NOTE

ON THE MANDASA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA

CHART FACING PAGE 24.

Name	TABLE									
	Letters									
	ka	kh	ga	gha	ca	cha	ja	gha	ṣa	ṭa
Narasipatam plates of Vajrabasta III S.S. 967.	क	ख	ग	घ	च	छ	ज			ट
Mandasa plates of Anantavarman.	क	ख	ग			छ	ज			ट

	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	la	tha	da	dha	na	pa	pha
Narasipatam plates of Vajrabasta III S.S. 967.				न	ल	त	द	ध	न	प	
Mandasa plates of Anantavarman.	ṭ			न	ल	त	द	ध	न	प	

	ba	bha	ma	ya	va	la	va	ḍa	ḍa	sa	ha
Narasipatam plates of Vajrabasta III S.S. 967.	ब	भ	म	य	व	ल	व	ड	ड	स	ह
Mandasa plates of Anantavarman.	ब	भ	म	य	व	ल	व	ड	ड	स	ह

date of the grant, because two charters of one and the same king might have been in two different styles. For an example of this sort, the Eastern Cālukya king Guṇaga Vijavāditya's copper-plate records may be cited. In these records,³ it may be noted, two distinct and different styles of writing were employed though the letters are properly speaking, the same. A comparison between the characters of both the Narsīpaṭam and the Mandasa plates reveals the fact that there is little difference between the two sets of letters, employed in the two sets of copper plates. But this much is to be admitted that the writing in Vajra-hasta's charters is more neat and tidy than in the Mandasa plates which were executed very carelessly. This careless execution is responsible for creating such an impression that there exists much difference between the letters employed in the two sets of plates.

(2) It is true that the *gotra* and genealogy of the Gāṅga family are omitted in the Mandasa plates. This is because these plates really belong to the Kadamba chieftain Dharmakhēḍi but not to Anantavarma (Vajra-hasta) and their main purpose is to record the gift of Dharmakhēḍi. This is made amply clear by the crest, engraved on the seal, which is quite different from the general emblem of the Kāṭṅga Gāṅgas—the bull. Dēvēndravarmā's Kambakāya plates⁴ and Dēvēndravarma's Sīmbāpura plates⁵ also have the crest—fish—on their seals, because the main purpose of these was also to record the grants of Kadamba chieftains but not of the Gāṅga kings. It is interesting to note that, like the Mandasa plates, they also neither mention the *gotra* nor describe the genealogy of their over-lord.

The Kadambas of Kāṭṅga, though mere headmen of villages and subordinates in the beginning, gradually grew very powerful and became provincial governors in course of time. Perhaps they wielded much political influence by their military help to, and matrimonial alliances with the Gāṅga kings. So much so they were practically independent, though nominally they were holding a subordinate position under them. Like their Gāṅga over-lords they were making gifts of villages; and simply mentioning their Gāṅga over-lords in their grants out of respect for them, they were issuing them in their own name, even though the *Dharma Śāstras* do not sanction such a privilege, to a subordinate chief. Formerly whenever they wanted to make a gift of land or village to any one, they used to request the king to do so and got the required grant made by the king himself, in his own name.⁶ The change that had come over their political status is indicative of the

³ *Jour. Tel. Acad.* Vol. I, p. 140 ff. *Bharati*, Vol. I, No. 1. *JAHRs*, Vol. V, p. 101 ff. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, p. 123 ff. *C. P.* No. 3 of 1908-1909. *C. P.* No. 5 of 1911-1912.

⁴ *Bharati*, 1927. *Jour. Bom. Hist. Res. Soc.* Vol. IV, p. 27 ff; (1931).

⁵ *JAHRs*, Vol. III, p. 171 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 143 ff.

growing strength and power of the Kadamba chiefs. Like 'their Gāṅga suzerains they also mention in their grants their capital city from which they issue them. In short, the change in the terminology also of the dates in the Gāṅga era from *Gāṅgāyavamsa-pravardhamāna samvatsara* to *Gāṅga-Kadamba-vamsa pravardhamāna samvatsara* in their own grants is sufficient proof of that they were not merely subordinate chieftains but something more. It was they, but not Vajrahasta or his descendants, who, whatever may be the reason, adhered to the old *prastasti* in their grants instead of the new one. If a Gāṅga grant with a date in Śaka era but yet with the old Gāṅga *prastasti* is discovered, in my opinion, it would most probably be a record of a Kadamba chief, describing his gift and posterior in date to Śaka 560.

(3) Mr. Ramadas contends that Anantavarma of the Mandasa plates could not be Vajrahasta because the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikaṭiṅgādhipati*, usually borne by the latter in his grants, are not found attached to Anantavarma in the Mandasa plates. This is not a serious objection. As has been pointed out before, the plates really belong to Dharmakhēḍi but not to Anantavarma and the purpose of the charter was to record the grant made by Dharmakhēḍi alone and not by Anantavarma. If they were his own plates, Anantavarma would have perhaps, mentioned all his titles in the record. Though it is natural to expect all the titles of a king in his grants, there is no hard and fast rule that they should necessarily be mentioned in them. For example, several records of this kind may be cited to prove this point. Among the inscriptions from Mukhalingam,⁸ Ganjam District and Dāksbārām⁹ Godavari District, Anantavarma Vajrahasta and Anantavarma Cōḍaganga are given the titles *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Trikaṭiṅgādhipati* in some, while in some others these titles do not appear. There are even instances to show that out of different records¹⁰ of the same king dated in the same year, some mention these titles and others do not. Even the title *Trikaṭiṅgādhipati* to which much importance is attached by Mr. Ramadas, appears to have been borne by the Kaṭiṅga Gāṅgas as well as the Cēdi kings at the same period. Mr. Ramadas says "in the family of Anantavarma Vajrahasta the title was retained till about A.D. 1135¹¹ when the Cēdi king Ratnadēva II defeated Cōḍaganga Cēva of Kaṭiṅga and took back the title into his family again.....It can be seen that the title remained in the family of the Cēdi kings till A.D. 1239." But even after A.D. 1135, this title was

7 JAHRs Vol. III, p. 171 ff. This is the only grant which gives the date in this way.

8 S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1121 S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1122, S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1015.

9 S.I.I. Vol. IV, Nos. 1194, 1195 and 1196.

10 S.I.I. Vol. V, Nos. 1025 and 1029

11 Curiously enough, a record of the same year of Cōḍaganga from Srikrāmam (S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1335) states that Cōḍaganga conquered the western, northern and eastern countries on the battle field,

borne by the Gānga kings as is evident by the Daksharam¹² inscription of Aniyanka Bhīma, wherein he was described as *Trikalingeśvara* which means the same as *Trikalingādhīpati*. Mahānāda, the commander-in-chief of Aniyanka Bhīma was styled as *Trikalinga maṇḍala Mahaddaṇḍādhipa* in another record¹³ of Śaka 1157. That it was borne at the same period by the Cēdi kings also is admitted by Mr. Ramadas. It is also interesting to note that the same title was borne by the Cāndella king Trailōkyavārma as is evident from a record¹⁴ of his, dated Vikrama samvat 1261, corresponding to A.D. 1205. About this title Mr. Hiralal writes "This title seems to have been regarded as a mark of pride and continued to be used by Kārṇa's successors (Kalacuris of Tripuri) even when their kingdom becomes restricted to a few districts round about their capital."¹⁵

In citing these instances, my aim is to show that, at least as far as the Gānga records are concerned, there is no rigid rule followed for the usage of these titles. These titles may be adhered to or may be omitted. It is clear that the absence of any of these titles cannot be taken to be of such importance as to lead us to doubt the identification of Anantavarma of the Mandasa plates with Anantavarma Vajrahasta of the Narasipatam plates.

The question of the regnal or the *Samasta* year yet remains to be discussed. In line 34 of the Mandasa plates, besides giving the figure 15, it was written in words also "*padnāro*" i. e., *Pandrāro*. The plates published in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, along with Mr. Ramadas' paper, have come off excellently well. With their aid, even the text of the whole inscription may be easily read without a break anywhere. When I read the plates, I found to my surprise that both the numerical word and the figure stand for something other than regnal or *Samasta* year. To ascertain the correctness of my reading, I examined the estampages of these plates in the Epigraphy Office, Madras.¹⁶ After consultation I was confirmed in my opinion that they do not refer to years, either regnal or *Samasta*. I give below my reading of lines 33 and 34 of these plates:—

1. 33. *Saradēvasanidhē gāḍasīmā: ētaśca dātūrūpya ām*
1. 34. *kha^{16a} puñnārā 15 [| *] sadatta paradatamvā jō harētī*

¹² *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 1329.

¹³ *S.I.I.* Vol. V, No. 1284.

¹⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVI, p. 272 ff.

¹⁵ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX.

¹⁶ My thanks are due to the Superintendent, Epigraphy Department, Madras for kindly allowing me to consult the estampages of the copper plate records in his office, whenever required.

^{16a}. The letter after *ētaśca* in line 33 was taken to be *bh* by Mr. Ramadas. The form of *bha* with the top line can be clearly seen in line 13, in *bhaṭṭāraka*. The form of *bha* in *Bhāmakhēḍī* is clearly seen in

I correct the words connected with 15 as follows:—

Ētacca dattam rūpyam amkēna pandrārō 15.

(Meaning: this was also given, rupees in figures fifteen 15.)

Along with the grant of a village or land, it appears to be customary to give cash also to the donee. In the Kambakāya grant¹⁷ this expression *hebbi grāmasya māḍa datta duvī* (*Kēbigrāmasya māḍa dvuyī dattā*) is found; similarly in Madhukāmārṇava's Chicacole grant,¹⁸ dated in the Gāṅga era 528 one hundred and fifty rupees were given (l. 32. *dattā dēta śatarūpya 150*). Here in these plates under review *rūpya* is also clearly found. Hence I conclude that the figure 15 represents neither the regnal nor the *Samasta* year but the money in rupees, given to the donee. So because the grant was made during the reign of Anantavarma the date of the record may be taken to refer to Anantavarma but not to Dharmakhēḍi, even though he was the donor.

If it were found clearly that it refers to Dharmakhēḍi alone then it should be taken as an indication that he had thrown off his allegiance to his over-lord and had become independent. But in such a case, Anantavarma's name would not be found in the plates at all. At any rate, this is the opinion expressed by scholars with regard to the grants, issued by subordinate chiefs and dated in the Śaka era.¹⁹

(Footnote continued from previous page)

line 19. The letter after *ētaśca* is not at all *bhī*. It is *dā*. It exactly resembles the letter *dā* in line 12 in *sampadālnāra*. Many instances may be cited from the same inscription to prove that that letter is *dā*.

In this record no difference is generally made between the long and short forms of *u*, affixed to the consonant *r*. So, that letter may be taken to be also *rū*.

In fact, in the early Kāṅga grants the long and short forms of vowels attached to consonants are almost alike in many cases. The letter next to *ru* was read by Mr. Kamadas as *sā*. It is wrong. The form of *sa* is clearly seen in line 24, in *janakasya* and in line 29, in *svayam*.

It is unnecessary for me here to give examples of *pa* as it is very clearly recognised in this record in many places, for example, *pa* in l. 27 in *paryanta*, in l. 34 in *pañnarā* in the same line, in *paradattam* etc. The conjunct consonant *pya* may be easily recognised by seeing the secondary form of *ya* in *Bhīmakhēḍisya* (l. 19), in *ollāsyat* (l. 2), and in *pratiṣṭhātasya* (l. 4). Compare also *rūpya* in line 32 of the Chicacole plates of Madhukāmārṇava.

The next letter after *pya* resembles exactly the letter *a* in l. 29, in *agrāyam* along with the vertical line representing the long form of the same vowel. So I take it to be *ā* [*ṁ*].

What was taken to be *stha* in line 34 (first letter of that line) is really *kha*. Compare the letter *kha* in *Bhīmakhēḍi* and *Dharmakhēḍi* etc.

¹⁷ *Bharati*, Vol. IV.

Jour. Bom. His. Res. Soc., Vol. IV, p. 27ff.

¹⁸ *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 272 u.

¹⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 226 ff. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 44.

THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNĀḌ.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

At some unknown period, probably during the Eastern Chālukyan epoch, a number of Haihaya families migrated into the Āndhra country and settled down as rulers of small principalities here and there with titles and insignia of feudatories as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* or sub-kings. Among those that acquired rulership in that fashion may be mentioned the Haihayas of Palnāḍ, the Haihayas of Kolanu *vishaya*, the Haihayas of Nathavadi and lastly the Haihayas of Kōṇa *rāshṭra*. There were probably many more families scattered over the country but inscriptions have so far revealed only the above four dynasties. History is silent about the Haihayas of Kolanu *vishaya* for there have been found only a few inscriptions so far. In this paper an attempt is made to trace the History of the Haihayas of Palnāḍ.

Palnāḍ is an extremely interesting tract of country in Andhradesa lying on the right bank of the Krishna river in the modern Guntur district. It is bounded on the north and west by about eighty miles length of the river and shut in, on the south and east by forest-clad hills and dense jungle area. It is bounded by the Vinukonda and Sattenapalli taluks on the south and east. Geologically this region is important; it is still practically unexplored. It contains among other things large quantities of marble deposits flowing up to the surface in long regular ridges, and lends a peculiar and characteristic appearance to the scene. Of this stone were the celebrated sculptured marbles of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakonda, Gōli, Gummaḍidurga. Jaggyyapēṭa Bhaṭṭiprō'u, Alluru and others for miles around. The Palnāḍ tract measures roughly about 1050 square miles in area; it is an undulating rocky dry country interspersed with hills and low forests, and scarcely populated. In the inscriptions, Palnāḍ is referred to as Pallidēśa or Palnāḍ 300 district. It is probable that the region acquired the name Palnāḍ or Pālanāḍu owing to the vast marble deposits sprouting up to the surface in long ridges all over the tract. Pāla-nāḍu or 'the land of milk-like white stone' had become in the course of time Palnāḍ and in Sanskrit Pallidēśa. The name appears often also as Palināḍu and Pallināḍu but they are plainly variations of the correct appellation Palnāḍ. Great historical interest of Palnāḍ centres round two things. Firstly, in this region lies the Nāgārjunakonda valley in which are found the celebrated Śrīparvata of the Buddhists and the ruins of Vijayapurī the capital of the illustrious Ikshvāku dynasty. At one time Palnāḍ was a rich, prosperous and populous region, being the home and seat of government of the imperial Ikshvākus.

Secondly the people of Palnāḍ fondly cherish the memory of its chiefs known as *Palnāḍi-Virulu* "The Heroes of Palnāḍ" who played an important part in the history of that land during the latter half of the twelfth century. Temples were erected in honour of the *Heroes*, poems were composed recounting their deeds, and the inhabitants of the tract, both the Hindus and Mussalmans, vie with each other to do reverence on the grand festival day once a year. Villages are named after the Heroes, poems and ballads sung, and the warlike and patriotic villagers are never tired of narrating the legends to the visitors and pointing out with emotion where each event is said to have taken place.

The history of Palnāḍ, after the fall of the Ikshvākus, had become completely obscure. From the middle of the third century of Christian era till the dawn of the twelfth century, the history of Palnāḍ is a blank chapter in the history of Āndhradēśa. Palnāḍ emerged into prominence once more immediately after the removal of the strong hand of the great emperor Kulōttunga Chōḷadēva I by death (1118 A.D.), and for two centuries afterwards roughly, remained vividly in the picture. In the following pages is traced the history of Palnāḍ during the twelfth century.

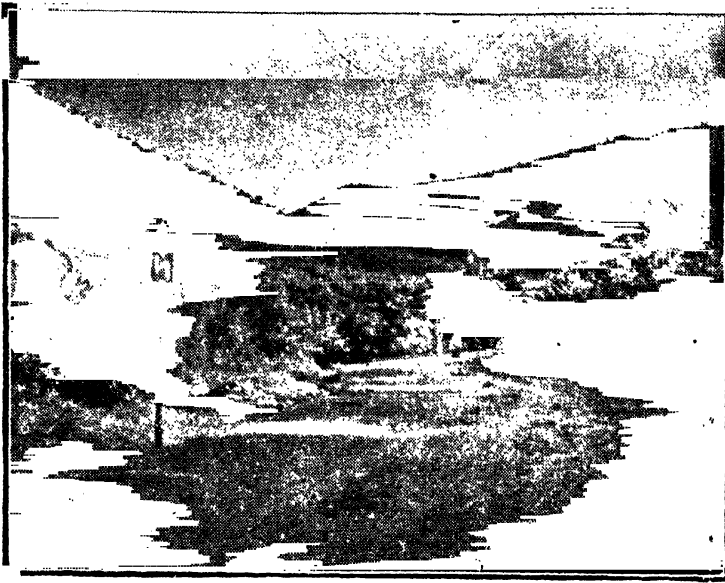
The rulers of Palnāḍ of the twelfth century called themselves the Haihayas and descendants of Kārtavīrya. They, therefore, were a Kshatriya family. It is not known whence this family of the Haihayas migrated into the valley of the Krishna river and obtained the rulership of the country. The first prince of the family who is known to history is a certain Chāgi Bēta (I). He is mentioned in a stone record set up in the temple of Vīrabhadraśvara at Gurizā'a. The inscription is engraved on a Nāga pillar and belongs to the time of his descendant.¹ Nothing, however, is known about Chāgi Bēta I or his ancestors or the manner by which they obtained the rulership of Palnāḍ.

There are two stone records of the time of Vīra Kāma I son of Chāgi Bēta I. One of them is dated cyclic year Khara, Ś. S. 1033 = 1112 A. D., it records a gift of land to the shrine of Ādityēśvar² built at the capital Mahādēvītaṭaka or Mācherla, as it is known to day, by a certain Āditya, a servant of the chieftain Vira Kama I. The other inscription is a damaged one but the date portion is fortunately preserved. It records the setting up of a Nāga pillar by Āditya himself in Vijaya *samvātsara* Ś. S. 1035 = 1113 A.D. Both the records are found engraved upon a nāga-pillar set up in the court-yard of the shrine of Chennakēśavasvāmin of Mācherla.² It cannot be known when Vīra Kāma (I) commenced his rule, but he would seem to have died shortly after and that thereafter the succession passed on to his sons. Chāgi

1 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 596 of 1909.

2 *Ep. Colln.*, Nos. 576 and 577 of 1909.





Navakurali-kanuma, the mountain pass called after Nayakuralu.



Stone figure of Peda-Malideva.



Stone figure of the Kalachuri prince Kommaraja.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.

Bēta I and his son Vīra Kāma (I) were undoubtedly vassals of Kulōttunga Chōḷadēva I (1070-1118 A.D.)

Vīra Kāma, (I) had left four sons.³ The eldest was named Rājarāja and the second Chāgi Bēta (II) apparently after his grandfather. The names of the other two are not known to us. For some reason which is not forthcoming now, Rājarāja and his brother Chāgi Bēta II ruled jointly the ancestral kingdom as is evidenced by a stone record found at Būṛgubaṇḍa in Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district.⁴ The epigraph mentions the two Haihaya chiefs *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rājarājadēva and Bētarāja II, surnamed *Birudānka-Rudra* and is dated Ś. S. 1040 = 1118 A.D. It registers the grant of land made for offerings to the god Nārāyaṇadēva at Bikkibaṇḍa in Pallināḍi by Pennama Nāyaka and Kāme Nāyaka of Tangaḍumpūḍi on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Samkrānti. The date of the Uttarāyaṇa Samkrānti in Ś. S. 1040 may be equated to Thursday, the 25th December 1118 in the Christian era. The date of the record is important. It fixes the period of the joint rule of Rājarājadēva and Bētarāja II in Palnāḍ. Thereafter Rājarājadēva does not appear in the inscriptions; it may not be improbable that that chief died shortly after. Thenceforward *Birudānka-Rudra* or Bēta rāja II ruled alone.

Birudānkarudra Bēta's capital was Gurindala sthala which may be easily identified as the modern Gurizala. It is also called Mādhavīpaṭṭaṇa in Sanskrit. Here is found an inscription of the time of this king engraved on a Nāga pillar and set up in the temple of Vīrabhadreśvara.⁵ It is dated in Ś. S. 1051, Saumya *samvatsara* = 1129 A.D. in the reign of Bhūlōkamalladēva or Sōmēśvara III (1127-36 A.D.) It is stated therein that *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Birudānkarudra Bētarāja, of the Haihaya family, a feudatory of the Western Chālukya monarch, made a grant to a temple of the Hindu Trinity, — Brahma, Viṣṇu and Maṇēśvara, — which was founded at Mādhavīpaṭṭaṇa by a Brahmana of Kāmanūru who had studied the Pāṭa-pāṭha of the Ṛg Veda. The Nāga pillar on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been consecrated on the same occasion. The verses quoted at the beginning of the record invoke the blessing of the eight *Mahā-Nāgās*, namely, Sēsha, Vāsuki, Taksha, Karkōṭa, Abja-mahāmbuja, Śankhadhāra, and Kuḷika to decide the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the grant registered on that occasion. Chāgi Bēta II or Birudānkarudra Bēta is said to belong to the lunar race in which Kārtavīryārjuna was born. This record and another found in the courtyard of the shrine of Chenna-kēśavasvamin at Māuhavītaṭāka or Mācherla to which reference has been made above, clearly betray a strong Kannaḍa influence in Palnāḍ

3 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 576 of 1909.

4 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 263 of 1932.

5 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 596 of 1909.

at that time. Not only was the record engraved by Kanarese people who signed their names at the end in the Kannaḍa language but among the donors themselves there were immigrants from the Kannaḍa country, like Kannaḍa Nāgamayya, meaning Nāgamayya from the Kannaḍa country.⁶ It is not known how long Birudānkarudra ruled, but his period is important as it synchronised with the Western Chālukyan invasion and occupation of the province of Vēṅgi. As will be seen below Bētarāja (II) would appear to have taken a leading part in the invasion and occupation of Vēṅgi by the Western Chālukyan commander *Mahapradhāni* Anantapālayya.

The year 1118 A.D. is an important date in the History of the later Eastern Chālukyas. Towards the close of the reign of the emperor Kulōtunga Chōḷa I events in Chōḷa-maṇḍala took an unexpected and unhappy turn. About the beginning of that year the emperor who was already an octogenarian was on his death-bed, and his surviving eldest son or perhaps the only surviving son, Parāntaka, was away in distant Vēṅgi on the north. The Chōḷa kingdom was at that moment fast degenerating into weakness; it was at any rate utterly unprepared for any protracted war on account of the long spell of peace and prosperity that prevailed uninterruptedly for two decades during the latter part of the emperor's reign. In Vēṅgi, too, the Eastern Chālukya sovereignty was being slowly undermined. Since the accession of the emperor to the throne of the Chōḷa kingdom, the Eastern Chālukyas had practically ceased to look to Vēṅgi as their homeland but treated it as a mere appendage in their empire. This attitude had a strong reaction in the Āṇḍhra country on the feudatory families who for a long time had paid homage and tribute to the house of the Imperial Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. The great feudatory families, especially the Kshatriya dynasties, were preparing to overthrow the suzerainty of the Eastern Chālukyas who had now become Chālukya-Chōḷas by the strange course of political events during the last one century.

As soon as the news of the aged emperor's fatal illness reached Vēṅgi, prince Parāntaka apparently made a hurried departure to the south. In his hurried departure to the south to protect the Chōḷa kingdom. Parāntaka, afterwards Emperor Vikrama Chōḷa forgot to make suitable arrangements to protect the great kingdom of Vēṅgi which comprised at this period the entire eastern sea-board of the Āṇḍhra country. So the Pithapuram inscription of the Eastern Chālukya chief Mallapadēva⁷ speaks of Parāntaka: "When the renowned Vikrama Chōḷa who resembled Śakra in might and who was the full-moon of the ocean-like Chālukya race,—when he whose other name was *Tyāgasamudra*, had

6 *A. R. E.*, 1910, p. 107.

7 *E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 226, verses 23—24.

gone to protect the Chōla-maṇḍala, the country of Vēṅgi became devoid of a ruler at that interval". At that time or shortly after that when the country drifted into a state of confusion and anarchy, it would appear that a certain feudatory Chālukya prince named Vishṇuvardhana assumed the imperial name *Sarvaśhākāśraya* and having crowned himself king usurped the sovereignty of Vēṅgi. The event took place about 1124 A.D.⁸ The turn of events in Vēṅgi as well those in Chōla-maṇḍala offered a splendid opportunity to the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla, otherwise known as Vikramāditya VI to wreak his vengeance on his old enemy Kuḷōtunga Chōla who was on his death-bed in the spring of 1118 A.D. He invaded the Chōla-maṇḍala at that juncture as the *Vikramāṅkadēva-charitra* states and simultaneously despatched his veteran general and prime minister *Mahāprathāni* Anantapāla to march upon Vēṅgi and occupy it. The invasion of Vēṅgi is borne out by numerous inscriptions that lie scattered all over the Āṇḍhra country. It took place in 1118 A.D. about the close of the emperor's reign, shortly after the departure of prince to Kāñchīpura. The Western Chālukyan armies would appear to have entered the kingdom of Vēṅgi through Palnāḍ. Birudānkarudra Bētarāja II joined the confederacy of the feudatory chieftains of Vēṅgi and allowed the armies of Tribhuvanamalladēva to enter Vēṅgi through his own dominions. The other Kshatriya feudatories of Vēṅgi, particularly the *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvaras* of Kolanu *viśhaya*, Niravadyapura, Pithapuram and others made the task of conquering the kingdom easier than was expected. By the year 1121 A.D. the Western Chālukyan generals were already in occupation of Jananāthapura, a suburb of Dakṣhārāma in East Godavari district, the capital of Parāntaka and his predecessors in Vēṅgi at that time.⁹

The history of the Western Chālukyan occupation of Vēṅgi is recorded elsewhere in detail.¹⁰ It is not necessary for our purpose here to narrate it at length. Bētarāja II must have perished during campaign and his death may be placed about 1135 A.D. He and his confederates were defeated and destroyed one after another. Some of the treacherous vassals were slain and their principalities forfeited, and their descendants banished from the country. The same disaster overtook Birudānkarudra Bētarāja II and his descendants in Palnāḍ. There are no inscriptions which mention the descendants of Bētarāja; the earliest known prince of the Haihaya family of Palnāḍ after Bētarāja II was one Anugurāja or Alugurāja, who is mentioned in the *Palnāḍivīra-charitramu* otherwise

8 See Erupalli plates of the king; *Andhra Bharati* 1912, p.

Also see A. R. No. 41, 1912; *A.R.E.*, 1912, p. 79. Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri wrongly assumed this prince to be an ancestor of Mallapadēva III, of the Pithapuram inscription referred to in the above note.

9 See *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1211, 1212 and 1212; and also No. 1210 *Ibid*.

10 See my forthcoming work "*The History of the Eastern Chalukyas.*"

called the "Chronicle of the Heroes of Palnād." Anugurāja's father's name is not given anywhere. It seems to me that it was deliberately omitted on account of the fact that his father and ancestor Bētarāja II turned traitor to his Eastern Chālukyan overlords and perished in the disgraceful fight. Anugurāja is said to have descended from Kārtavīrya; in one recension, particularly in the work of Virabhadra-kavi, Anugurāja is said to be the son of Sundara-chakravarti. There is no doubt that this name is a fanciful one. And the *Viracharitra*, in the early part of it states that Anugurāja, having repented for the sins of his ancestor set out wandering in order to expiate the sins that troubled him. The veiled statement clearly shows that Anugurāja's ancestor apparently Birudānka Rudra proved a traitor to the country and the king and as a result of his treachery his descendant (i. e. Anugurāja) was deprived of his ancestral kingdom and forced to wander about the land. If this statement represents correct history of the dynasty it would appear that Anugurāja was a descendant of Birudānkarudra-Bētarāja II.

The *Viracharitra*¹¹ tells that prince Anugurāja, accompanied by his trusted ministers, warriors and other relatives and taking his family deity Chenna-Kēśava with him, wandered about the country for a long time. He at last came to Tsandavōlu the seat of the king Velananti Gonkarāja II, the Chālukya-Chōḷa viceroy in Vēngi, and threw himself at once on his mercy. By that time the Western Chālukyan occupation was at an end and the Chālukya-Chōḷa sovereignty was firmly established once more. Gonkarāja II was then the undisputed lord of the kingdom of Vengi, having conquered it by the strength of his arms for, and obtained its rulership from, his suzerain the Chālukya-Chōḷa Emperor Vikrama-Chōḷa. Gonkarāja II changed his mind apparently and reinstated Anugurāja on the throne of Palnād. The experience of the past would seem to have induced Gonkarāja II to cement the loyalty of his subordinate to his throne by a marital alliance. In the past the Haihaya rulers of Palnad, being Kshatriyas looked to Kuntala and Chēdi for their marital alliances. Gonkarāja by an act of statesmanship, himself though

11 The *Viracharitra* was composed by several poets of the XIV and XV centuries; the earliest of the poems is the *Palnativira-charitra* composed by *Kavisarvabhauma* Srināthabhatta. His work is in beautiful *manjari dwipada* metre and in vigorous style. It reads like a war song. It is sung by village bards even to this day in remote villages of Palnad. It thrills the listeners to such an extent that they are roused to imitate the valourous deeds of the heroes. Several others who came after Srinātha, notably Mallaya, Kondaya and Mudigonda Virabhadrakavi narrated the story in poems of different metres. None of these works unfortunately have been printed except a small portion of Srinātha's work called *Baluchandra-Yuddham*. An excellent account in English based on the poem of Virabhadrakavi is given by Sewell in his *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, of the chronicle of Heroes of Palnad, App. A. Srinātha's poem is published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sonb, Madras in 1911 and edited by Pandit A. Umakentam.

a Durjaya of the fourth caste, made the Kshatriya prince of Palnād wed his daughter Mailamadēvi, on the bait of being restored to the ancestral kingdom. The policy was successful. Anugurāja was pleased to get back his country, Palanād with its five divisions, as dowry. Gonkarāja II was not only able to marry his daughter to a Kshatriya prince the Haihaya chief, but secured by that act the loyalty of other numerous powerful Kshatriya chieftains of the kingdom of Vēngi.

Alugurāja married two more wives besides Mailamadēvi. They were Viravidvādēvi¹² and Bhūramādēvi. For a long time Anugurāja ruled in peace in Palnād but as ill luck would have it none of his queens bore for him a son and heir to the throne. At last he adopted, Peddanna or Bādā-nāyaḍu, the eldest son of his minister Dodḍā-nāyaḍu, a Velama chieftain of the fourth and of a different caste.¹³ Shortly afterwards the three queens of Alugubhūpati bore children successively. Mailamadēvi the chief queen, bore the eldest son and heir Nalagāma (Nala-Kāma) or Vīra Kāma II. Viravidvādēvi bore three sons Pedamallidēva, Pinamallidēva and Rāla Mallidēva and of Bhurmadēvi were born four sons Yera Kāma, Narasimba, Perumalrāja and Jhaṭṭi-Perumalrāja. The birth of these sons was an eyesore to Dodḍānāyaḍu who had long expected his son Peddanna or Bādānāyaḍu to inherit the throne of Palnād. Gradually, therefore, dissensions arose and the old king Alugu-bhūpati felt no peace in his mind. Owing to machinations, the palace of Alugubhūpati formerly so peaceful, became now a scene of constant strife. The king quarrelled with Dodḍānāyaḍu, who then resigned the seals of his office

12 One chronicle states that Mailamadēvi was also called Vīra Vidyādēvi. But that does not appear to be correct or true. The story of the marriage of Alugurāja or Alugu bhūpati with Mailamadēvi is narrated more like a fairy tale; and the student of history can easily discern what is history and what is legend in it. King Gonkarāja II is called Dhavalasankha in the poems. It is said that Alugu-bhūpati entered in disguise accompanied by his followers the city of Chandavolu where he encountered in a combat the guards of the king's palace. It is said that having disguised themselves the followers of Alugubhūpati proceeded to Tsandavolu and reached the king's citadel. There the guards prevented them from entering the palace. After some scuffle, both the parties went to the hall of audience. A combat was then arranged there and the king decided, that if the prince of Palnad won he would give his daughter in marriage to him, but if his own guards won, the Palanad chief's daughter should be given to him. This was agreed to by all the parties. The combat took place in the presence of the king in which Alugurāja's men won the day. Dhavala-Sankha, who is no other than Gourarāja II, true to his word, gave his daughter Mailamadēvi in marriage with due pomp and ceremony to Alugubhūpati, and along with her endowed Palnad with its five divisions as dowry. Alugubhūpati then returned to his country and then on the banks of Nāgulēru founded, rather rebuilt the city of Gurizāla and resided there.

13 This is not the first instance of a Kshatriya prince adopting a Śūdra son. Kulōttunga Chōla I adopted Velanarṭi Rājendra Chōḍa I of the Chaturtha-kula (or Śūdra caste) as his own son.

as Prime minister to his second son Brahmanāyudu, but the latter abused his power by murdering first the king and afterwards his own father Duddanāyudu¹⁴ Brahmanāyudu then crowned the king's eldest son Nala-Kāma and became the chief man in the kingdom (A.D. 1170 c) The new king being young and weak was entirely dependent upon his powerful minister. Brahmanāyudu took advantage of his position and influence as prime minister to spread his teachings in the land. But Nala-Kāma II, being a devotee of Śiva like his ancestors stood in the path of Brahmanāyudu's activity. The opposition between the king and his powerful minister became more and more marked in a short time. Meanwhile Brahmanāyudu acquired great influence over the step-brothers of the king Peda-Mallidēva and others, the children of Vīra Vidyādēvi, and carried on his work, the spread of his Neo-Vaishnavism.

The story of the civil war in Palnad is chronicled in the beautiful Telugu poem, called *Palnāṭi-vīra-charitramu* or the Ballad of the heroes of Palnad This poem deals with the civil war between the children of Anuguraja or Alugu Bhupathi, the Haihaya king of Palnad, who fought for power and their share in the kingdom.

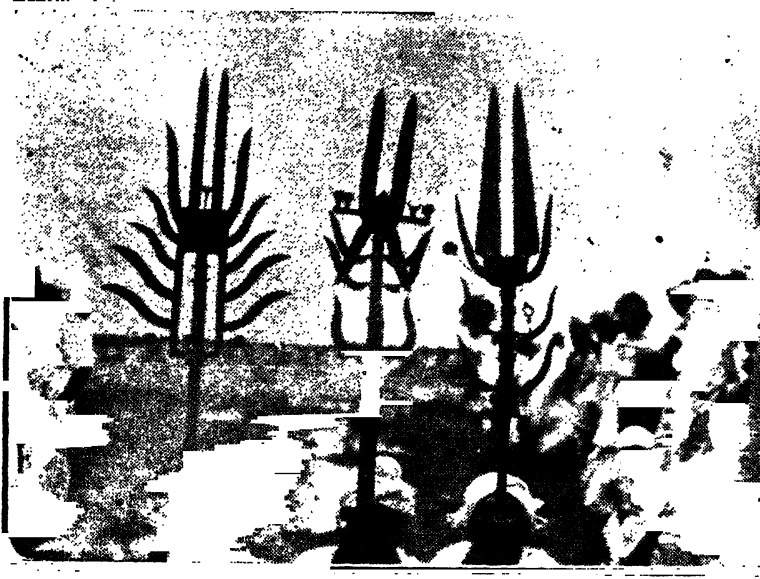
About this time, King Velananti Rajendra Choda II the brother-in-law of Anugu Bhupati died (1180 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Ku'ōttungarāva Rājendra Chōḍa Gonkarāja or Gonka III. For sometime prior to the death of Rājendra Chōḍa II, forces of disintegration would appear to have set in and the work of breaking up of the great Chalukya-Chola kingdom in Andradesa had already silently commenced. For, the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. was the period of revolutions, social, religious and political, both in the Andhra and Karnāṭa countries. The whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha was in a state of subdued turmoil; and that had its repercussions in the oldest kingdoms of Andhra and Karnata. Within a short time after the death of Rājendra Chōḍa II rose the great kingdom of the Kākatīyas which soon transformed itself into *Trailinga sāmrajyam* or the Kākatīya Empire embracing the entire Andhradesa, Kalinga, Bastar and northern part of Chola-mandala as well in the south.

The reign of Gonkaraja III (c. 1180—1185 A.D.) marked the beginnings of the decline of the Velananti kingdom and the fall of the Chalukyan sovereignty in Vengi which had outlived its glory for over a century. In his reign came the first blow to the Velananti kingdom from the protracted internecine war in Palnad which lasted for seven years. The trouble had its beginnings apparently even during the last years of Rajendra Choda II. The cause for this eruption lay partly in the social and religious movements and the political events of that period.¹⁵ The

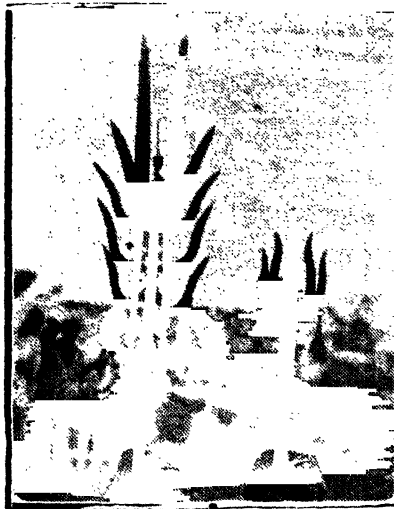
14 *Palanati Veera-charitra*.

15 Virabhadrarao: *History of the Andhras*, Vol. II. p. 282. *Kṛidabhiramamu*, verse 100.

THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNAD



Weapons believed to belong to the Heroes of Palnad.



Lances, believed to have been used by Brahmana.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras



The natural cave at Guttikonda into which Brahmana is said to have entered never to return after the disastrous battle of Karempudi.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.

great religious revival and the social awakening that came over the Andhra country had its repercussions in Palnād. The new Vīraśaiva and Vīravishṇava faiths came into clash in Palnād and led to civil war, rapine and ruin in the end.

The storm of social revolution that burst upon the Andhradēśa close on the heels of the religious revival appears to have been the root-cause of the internecine war in Palnād.¹⁶ The new social orders created political dissensions and rivalry in the royal family and finally destroyed peace in the land. The adherents of the new form of Vīravaishnavism in Palnād attempted to do away with conventions of caste and community in the same manner as Basava the founder of Vīraśaiva religion did away in Karnāṭadēśa roughly a quarter of a century ago. The pioneer of socio-religious reform in the Andhra country was Rēcharla Brhmanāyaḍu of the *Chaturthakula*, the hereditary minister of the Haihaya ruler of Palnād. Some of his contemporaries worshipped him as the incarnation of Vishnu once more. Brahmana became the founder of a new social order in the fourth caste called Velamakula or Padmanayaka-Velama-kula in which members of every caste and community of the Andhra were welded together. This new clan became in a short time a powerful warrior class and rose to great positions of influence and rank in later times under the Kākatiyas. Brahmana like Basava wanted to establish a new religion, rather the old faith in a new form and a new social order which did away with distinctions of caste. Brahmana in a way resembles Guru Nanak the founder of the great Sikh community, of the Northern India during the sixteenth century. Brahmana gained supporters from among the members of the ruling family of Palnād. But his teachings caused an uproar in the country and sowed the seeds for all the ills and troubles that Palnād in particular and the Velanāṇṭi kingdom of Vengi in general suffered in the next decade and after. Brahman's religious activity and social reform were however promptly checked by Nala Kāma, the Haihaya chief of Palnād, who was greatly assisted by his powerful minister Āravilli Nāgamma a woman statesman and warrior of remarkable ability, known to history by her surname *Nayakurālu* "The Chief Lady" of the land. A civil war ensued and the glory of Palnād flashed like a meteor on the horizon and vanished for ever thereafter. It happened like this.

Shortly after the accession of Nala Kāma, a young and beautiful lady, by name Āravilli Nāgamma came upon the scene and acquired great influence at the court of Palnād through her immense wealth and

16 Pandit Umakantam (Introduction to *Palnadiviracharitra*, p. 41) and Virabhadrarao (*History of the Andhras*, vol. II, p. 282) are also of this opinion. But see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 273) Wilson, however, ignorantly assumes that the war in Palnād originated in a dispute at a cock-fight between the petty landholders of Gurigala and Macharla,

intelligence. She became known throughout the country in a short time by her sur-name *Nāyakurālu*, "The chief lady." Her ambition for power knew no bounds, for she was eager to usurp the place of Brahmanāyaḍu and rule the kingdom herself.¹⁷ Thus two chiefs became thenceforth inveterate enemies of each other. Apparently Brahmana compelled the king to assign a small territory for his step-brothers Peda Mallideva and others. An opportunity came, when Nala-Kāma went on a hunting expedition and became much distressed with fatigue and parching thirst owing to the great heat of sun. Nāgamma the Nāyakurālu cleverly arranged that the king should expectedly arrive at a shady bower purposely laid out by her, where he found all that the heart of man could desire, cool shade, a bath prepared for him, excellent food and the rest he so much required. So pleased was the king with this entertainment, that he consented to make her his chief adviser and friend at the court. Soon after this she took up her place in the councils of the chief and slowly poisoned his mind against his step brothers Peda Mallidēva and others the children of Vīravidyādēvi, who were supporting Brahmana in his religious activity. This roused the suspicions of Brahmanāyaḍu who at once demanded a fair treatment for the princes and became their champion. Gradually dissensions arose in the royal family. Brahmanāyaḍu quarrelled with the king. He openly threw off the allegiance to his master, rallied the inhabitants of ninety villages and with a vast company left the city of Gurizala the capital for ever. His place was filled by the king's younger step-brother Narasimha, the eldest son of Bhūramādēvi, and Aravilli Nagamma the *Nāyakurālu*. Brahmana then settled after journeying a short distance at a place called Mahādēvicheṇuvu or Mācherla, on the bank of Chandravanka and there built a splendid city. For sometime, however, Pedamallideva and his brothers ably protected by Brahmanāyaḍu prospered in Macherla. But the sight of their prosperity and the great influence which Brahmanāyaḍu wielded filled the hearts of Nala-Kāma and his ministers with fear for the safety of the kingdom of Palnāḍ. Peda Mallideva was related to the Kalchuri dynasty of Kalyāṇ, having married the only daughter of Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva 1167—1177 A.D. Nāyakurālu, therefore, suspected that any day Brahmana might with the help of the Kalachuris fall upon Gurizāla and destroy the power of Nala-Kāma.

Soon a pretext was found to strip the children of Vīravidyādēvi of their prosperity. Nāyakurālu sent a large force of robbers and fierce hill tribes to plunder the city of Mācherla. But Kannamadas, the valiant

17 Almost all the writers including Mr. Virabhadrarao, the writer of the History of the Andhras have depicted the lady Nāgamma alias Nāyakurālu in blackest colours. I think they have done a great injustice to her, and sacrificed the historical accuracy for partisanship and bias. Brahmana was, as much responsible for the ills of Palnāḍ, as Nāyakurālu if not more.

commander of, Peda Mallidēva's forces beat back the plunderers. Brahmana then proceeded to Gurizāla to remonstrate with his sovereign upon the wanton wickedness of his evil advisers. Nala-Kāma assured his minister of his future safety; but before Brahmana left the capital the tables were turned, for Nāyakurālu found a pretext to take revenge. She arranged for a cock fight wherein she contemptuously called the defeated cock Brahmanāyaḍu. This filled the heart of Brahmanāyaḍu with wrath. Being thus insulted he was forced to accept a challenge for a cock fight as a wager of battle which was promptly arranged. The cock fight ended in a disaster to Brahmanāyaḍu and his lord Peda Mallidēva who were forced to retire from Palnāḍ for a period of seven years into exile as a result of loosing. He and prince Peda Mallidēva and their followers thus sent out from their home at Mācherla, crossed the river Krishna, and there at a distance of twenty miles from Gurizāla, built a city called Mandāḍi. There they lived and prospered for three years. But once more Nala-Kāma and his ministers apprehended danger from Brahmana's increasing popularity and influence. Apparently under the command of the king, Nāyakurālu sent a band of robbers to drive off the cattle of the new settlers and raid the city of Mandāḍi. Brahmana could not oppose the raiders in open battle for apparently his master Nala-Kāma was powerful and enjoyed the support of Velanāṇṭi Rājendra Chōḍa II, the most powerful king of the Āndhra country at that time.¹⁸ The Kalachūri sovereignty was being threatened with destruction at that time by the Western Chalukyan king Sōmēśvara IV. Brahmana was apparently without any support from any neighbouring prince or ruler. He was not therefore satisfied with the safety of his lord after this raid, and consequently decided to cross the river Krishna and proceed southwards. He then moved towards Tripurāntakam and thence to a place near Mārkaṭpuram. There, he built a town called Mēḍapi and settled down there.

Meanwhile, the seven years of exile having expired, Brahmanāyaḍu demanded a half share in the kingdom as before for his master Peda-Mallidēva. He sent Prince Āla-Rāja alias Rāchamalla, son of the Kalachūri prince Kommarāja, and the son-in-law of king Nala-Kāma on this mission to Gurizāla. The king, however, promptly refused the demand and even threatened to make war upon the exiles if they dared to press their request further. Rāchamalla departed angrily, but was

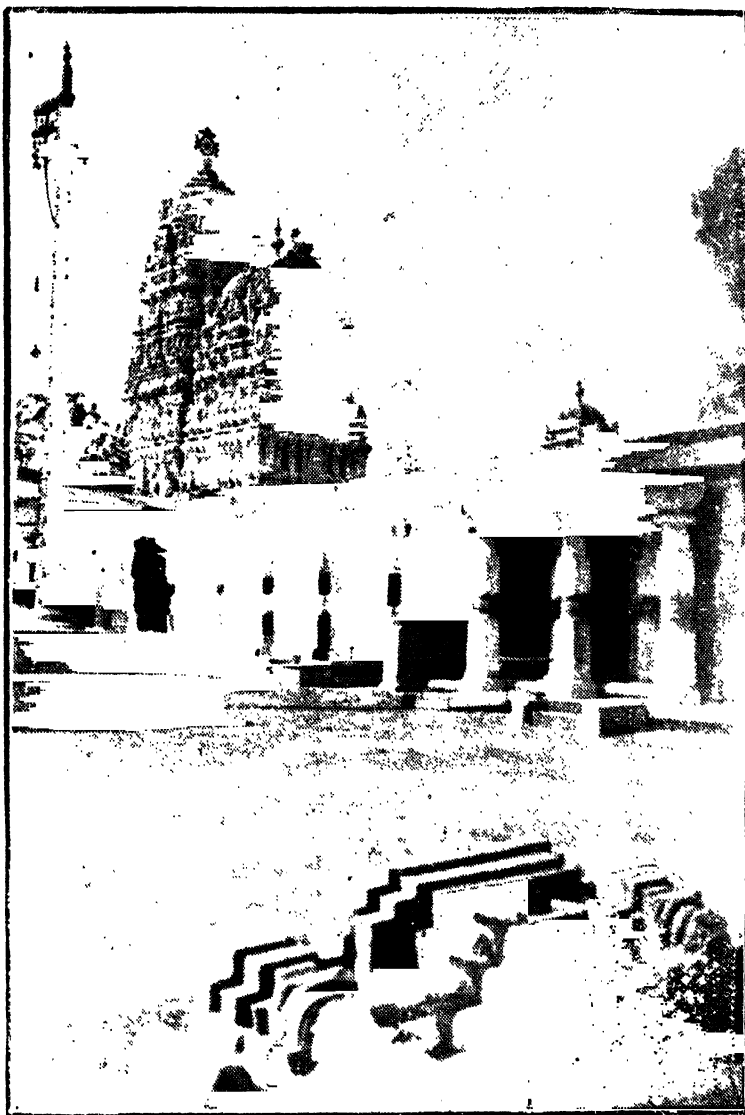
18 *Palativira-charitra*: The episode of the raid on Mandāḍi (*Mandapotu-katha*). Śrinātha Bhaṭṭa's work contains a passage which states that Velanāṇṭi Chōḍa apparently Rājendra Chōḍa among several other contemporary kings rulers of the Dakṣiṇāpatna and the south, openly evinced hatred towards Peda-Mallidēva. The causes for such ill-feeling of other princes towards Peda-Mallidēva are not explained. But it was natural that Rājendra Chōḍa II, who was the maternal uncle of Nala-Kāma, bore no love for Peda-Mallidēva who was an avowed rival of his own nephew. (Vide Intro, p. 41.)

poisoned to death in the house of a Brāhman host under the secret orders of Nāgama. Enraged at this tragedy Brahmana collected large army and declared war upon his king. Nala-Kāma too, summoned his armies and made preparations for a struggle. Brahmana now marched at the head of a large army and surrounded the capital in a short time. Nala-Kāma and his allies came out of Gurizāla and met the enemy on the field of Kārempūḍi on the banks of the river Nāgulēru. Both parties decided upon the battle. Peda-Mallidēva's army was commanded by the youthful warrior Bālachandra, the only son of Brahmana and the king's army was led to attack by his younger step-brother Narasimha. A fierce battle then ensued and lasted for three days,¹⁹ which ended in great slaughter. Almost all the members of the royal family including princes Narasimha and Peda-Mallidēva and other brothers of the chief Nala-Kāma perished on the field. All the kith and kin of Brahmanāyaḍu, too, had lost their lives in the fight. The number of heroes that fell on the plain of Kārempūḍi according to the legendary account is sixty-five which included warriors on both sides.²⁰ Tradition states that Brahmanāyaḍu was also killed on the battle field, but the *Palnāḍivīra-charitra* speaks to the contrary. According to the poem, Brahmanāyaḍu was the victor. It is said that Nāgama the Nāyakurālu fled from the battle-field, but was captured and brought before Brahmanāyaḍu who chivalrously spared her life and pardoned her. But the probability seems to be otherwise. Nala-Kāma appears to be the victor. He compelled the recalcitrant Brahmanāyaḍu and his followers to sue for peace; and the latter greatly smitten with grief and horror at the death of his beloved kinsmen and the members of the royal family called for truce and made peace with his chief Nala-Kāma. Brahmanāyaḍu left Palnāḍ for ever on a religious mission. And once more the unhappy Haihaya chief crowned himself as the sole ruler of Palanāḍ. The disgraced Nāyakurālu left the court for ever and was never afterwards heard of again.

Such in brief is the story of the civil war in Palnāḍ which shook the Velanāṇṭi kingdom to its foundations. A whole generation of powerful warriors, the flower of Āndhra soldiery perished in the great slaughter on the field of Kārempūḍi for nothing. The tragedy of Palanāḍ sealed the doom of the Velanāṇṭi rule and paved the way for final disappearance of the last vestiges of the Chālukyan sovereignty in Vēngi. The events in Palnāḍ hastened, nay even greatly helped, the downfall of the Velanāṇṭi family in the course of the next quarter of a century. The impunity with which Nala-Kāma and his subordinate Brahmanāyaḍu carried on hostilities for a long time; and the utter indifference with which the weak overlord king Velanāṇṭi Gonkarāja III watched the events,

19 According to one version the battle lasted only one day.

20 *Kṛidabhīramamu*, verse 65.



Temple of Chenna-Kesavasvamin at Macherla; believed to have been erected by Brahma Navadu

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.



The temple of Palnad Heroes, Karempudi.



Decorated Pillar in the temple of Chenna Kesavasvamin.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.

revealed to the neighbouring rising dynasties, like the Kākatiyas of Anmakonda and the turbulent feudatories like the Telugu Chōḍas of Pākanāḍu and Pottapi, the weakness of the Velanāṇṭi kingdom at that time. And the reign of the indecisive and imbecile king Gonkarāja III marked the beginning of the decline and fall of the great Durjaya kingdom of Velanāḍu family of Vēngi.

The Chronicle of the Heroes of Palnād mentions several contemporary rulers and princes who took up the cause of Nala-Kāma during the long period of hostilities and the battle of Kārempūḍi.²¹ And this fact enables us to determine with approximate certainty the period of civil war in Palnād and the battle of Kārempūḍi. The poem states that the raid on Mandāḍi took place roughly four and half years before the battle of Kārempūḍi which was undoubtedly the last event in the protracted civil war. At that time Velanāṇṭi Rājendra-Chōḍa II, the maternal uncle of Nala-Kāma was still alive; and Nāgama who suspected a revengeful counter attack on Gurizāla by Erahmanāyaḍu, secretly advised her lord to seek help from his maternal uncle and Vira Ballala II, the Hoysala king of Dvārasamudra. The last mentioned king was on the throne between A.D. 1173 and A.D. 1212.²² King Velanāṇṭi Rājendra Chōḍa II reigned from Chandavōlu over the whole of the Eastern Āṇḍhra country from A.D. 1165 till his death which occurred in A.D. 1182 at a ripe old age. Nala-Kāma also appears to have appealed for help to *Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara* Kōṭa Bhīmarāja II, lord of Dharaṇikōṭa, another feudatory of king Rājendra Chōḍa II, according to the Chronicle.²³ This chief married Sabbāmbika, the only daughter of Velanāṇṭi Rājendra Chōḍa II and was therefore related to Nala-Kāma. Kōṭa Bhīmarāja seems to have died about the end of A.D. 1180, and was succeeded by his second son Kōṭa Kēta II, in the beginning of A.D. 1183 to the

21 In spite of several versions that have crept into the text of Srinātha's work, on account of the confusion of the bards and the carelessness of the copyists the historical value of the *Palnavira-charitra* is still considerable.

22 *A.R.E.*, 1900 p. 100, para 50.

23 There seems to be some confusion in the text here in the *Palnavira-charitra* owing to the interpolation of lines which have no real context here. (See *Introd.* by Umakantam p. 40.) The text here mentions Kōṭa-Bhīma II and others among other princes who were summoned by Nala-Kāma on the eve of the battle of Kārempūḍi to come to his assistance. The lines which mention the chief Bhīmarāja at this place must have been obviously interpolated by the confused bard or the ignorant copyist. The absurdity of the context becomes all the more obvious when we come to the passage which describes the embassy of Kōṭa Kēta II, the younger son of Bhīma II on the eve of the battle. It is probable that Kēta II would be sent on the important mission of peace-making when his aged father was still alive. As a matter of fact he was in the camp on the eve of the battle.

24 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 144. The Saka date and *tithi* does not yield a proper equivalent date. There seems to be some error somewhere.

throne.²⁴ It seems certain, therefore, that the raid on Mandāḍi took place sometime prior to the death of Rājendra-Chōḍa II and his son-in-law Kōṭa Bhīmarāja II, and presumably in the early part of A.D. 1180, if not earlier still.

The poem *Palnāṭivīra-charitra* refers to a certain prince Kommarāja of the Kalchūri family of Kalyāṇ, whose younger sister was married to Peda-Mallidēva of Palnāḍ. He was one of the four sons of Bhujabalamalla-Rāyamurārī-Sōnēśvaradēva or Sōvicēva, and a grandson of Kalachuri Bijjala.²⁵ According to the poem he was the last to assume the command of the army of Pedamallidēva on the third day of the battle of Kārempūḍi and was killed in action. After the fall of the Kalachūri dynasty of Kaiyāṇ in or about A.D. 1183, or probably sometime prior to that, when the decline of the family had commenced, Kommarāja and his son Ālarāja surnamed Rāchamalla, who was the son-in-law of Nala-Kāma, would appear to have fled from Kalyāṇ for their safety and took refuge at the court of Palnāḍ.²⁶ This incident seems to have taken place even prior to the commencement of the hostilities between Nala Kāma and his half-brother. And shortly after the raid on Mandāḍi which has to be assigned to 1182 A.D., ill-feelings arose between Kommarāja and Nala-Kāma, on account of the former having openly espoused the cause of his brother-in-law Peda-Mallidēva. Kommarāja was thus compelled to leave the court of Nala-Kāma. He preferred to go into exile with Peda-Mallidēva and live in Mēḍapi rather than remain an honoured guest of the chief Nala-Kāma at Gurizāla. Thus it would appear, that the battle of Kārempūḍi which was fought roughly four and half years after the raid on Mandāḍi, took place about the middle of A.D. 1184 during the reign of king Velanāṇṭi Gonkarāja III.²⁷

In the accompanying table is set forth the relationship between the great Durjaya dynasty of Velanāṇḍu and the Haihayas of Palnāḍ on the one hand and the Kōṭa chiefs of Daarapikōṭa on the other.

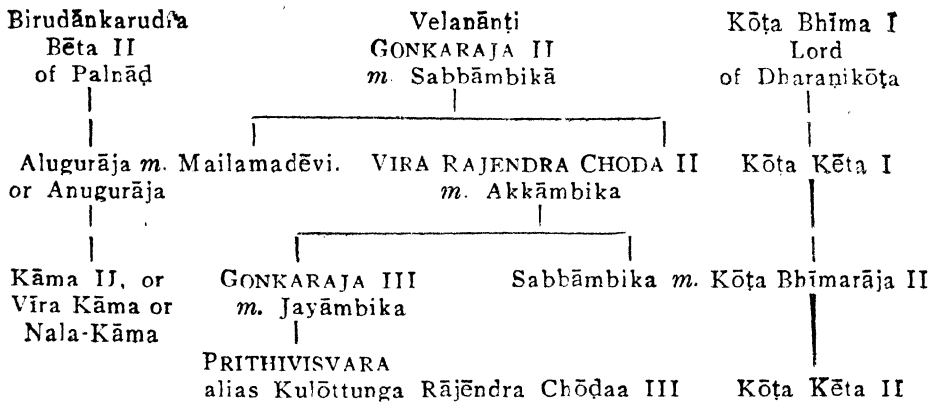
25 Umakantam's *Introduction to Palnativira-charitra*, p. 41.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 30—31.

27 Sewell (*List of Antiquities* etc., Vol. I, App. I) and Umakantam's *Introd.* to *Srinātha's Palanativira-charitra*, p. 45) quote an extant *chatu* Telugu verse which runs as follows. The text is corrupt.

“*Gaja-nabha-guṇa-chandruṁ Brajanuṇḍ-Āśhāḍha Suddha pakshambanaduṁ Vijaya-sama-bānuḍaluṇḍ-akkajamuṇḍa Balnāṭi vīra gajam-anti-bāḍiyen.*”

Sewell's version of this poem slightly differs from that of Pandit Umakantam. This verse gives the date S. S. 1308, corresponding to A.D. 1385—1386; but this is utterly improbable for the date of the Palnad Civil War or the death of Brahmanayadu, called here the elephant of Palnad. In this passage the *tithi* is lost, though the bright fortnight of the lunar month Āśhāḍha is given. But if we amend the verse and substitute the word *sasi* for *guṇa* we obtain the date S. S. 1108, which corresponds to A.D. 1185—86. This date appears to be a probable one, as the year in which Brahmanayadu's death took place, as has been shown above. But the verse is on the whole utterly unreliable.



THE CULT OF HERO WORSHIP IN PALNAD

The Cult of Hero worship is peculiar to Palnād. At one time it spread all over the Kākatiya Empire. The Ballad of the Heroes of Palnād was recited with music, poses, dancing and other accompaniments to the delight of the listeners. We have unimpeachable literary evidence of that in the *Kṛidabhirāmam* of Vallabharāya, a *vīdhi* play attributed to the great poet Śrīnātha-bhaṭṭa by some scholars. About ten verses are devoted to the description of the *Palnāṭi-Virula-katha*, its recitation by a young woman who had a sweet voice, its dance representation by the members of her troupe who were dressed like warriors of old with red paint on their faces, with red paste on their bodies, and with red flower garlands round their necks, and armed with heavy spears, daggers, long sharp swords and shields. The Heroes or *Virapurushas* as they were called were worshipped as deities, and temples were erected at all important places in Palnād especially at places where the "sixty five" illustrious *Vīra purushas* played their glorious part. Kārempūḍi and Macherla are the most noteworthy spots in Palnād where to this day the cult of hero-worship still exists. There Heroes are set up in *linga* form and worshipped. Kārempūḍi the battlefield, is even the seat of a Brāhmaṇ *guru* who presides over a section of the Śūdra community which worships the Heroes, and has a temple exclusively dedicated to the Heroes. There is a curious tower in the village of Karēmpūḍi, called the *Nayaḍumanṭapam*²⁸ evidently built in honour of Rēcharla Brahmanāyaḍu, the Great Hero of Palnād and dedicated to the memory of the other Heroes. It contains an inscription dated Raktākshi *samvatsara* Śaka 1367 = 1445 A.D. which states that the tower or *mēḍa* as it is called in Telugu, was erected by a certain Jīvaraksha Tammana, son of Mācherla Chennunḍu, at the spot where Chilam Nāyaḍu, i. e., Brahmanāyaḍu son of Sīlama, had planted his spear.²⁹ Quaint figures of Pina

²⁸ *AR.E.*, 1910, p. 99.

²⁹ *Ep. Colln.*, No. 555 of 1909.

Mallidēva, Peda Mallidēva, Jivaraksha Tāmmana, Mācherla Chennuḍu, Ōbinēni and others are all carved on the beam of the *mēḍa*, some as holding spears in their hands and some as standing in a worshipping posture. The earliest epigraphical reference to the Heroes and Hero Cult comes from Mācherla, the city that was founded by Brahmanāyaḍu on the banks of the Chandravanka river. There in that place are three small temples on the banks of the stream, which were dedicated to the Heroes. In front of these shrines there is a record of the Kākatīya period dated Śaka Samvat 1237 = 1315 A.D. which registers of the grant of a piece of land for the benefit of the *Vīra-purushulu* "Heroes".

The Hero and Hero Cult of Palnād came into existence in the first instance as a commemorative festival in honour of the departed Heroes. As years rolled by the festival changed colour and the Heroes were deified. The occasion on which the Heroes of Palnād so gloriously distinguished themselves may easily be specified as the Civil war in Palnād which came to an end with the fateful battle of Kārempūdi. (1184 A.D.) The people of Palnād and Guntur District as well as the people from the adjoining districts of Nalgonda, and Kurnool and even Warangal flock to Kārempūdi once a year to pay homage to the Heroes and worship them on the bank of the stream, Chandravanka.

The Haihayas of Palnad

Chāgi Bēta (I)

(Flourished in the latter half of the XI century A.D.)

Vīra Kāma (I)

?—1104 A.D.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara

Rājarājadēva

A.D. c. 1104—1118

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara

Bētarāja II

surnamed Birudānka Rudra
A.D. 1104—1118—1130 (circa)

Two sons

not mentioned
by name

Sundara Chakravarti (?)

A.D. c. 1130

(Lost the throne owing to treachery of his father Bēta II)

Anugurāja or Anugubhūpati (c. 1150—1170 A.D.)

m. Mailamadēvi and two other queens

By Vīravidyādēvi

By Bhūramādēvi

By Mailamadēv.

Peda

Pina

Bāla

Yera-

Narasimha

Perumal-

Jhaṭṭi-

Vīra-Kāma

Malidēva Malidēva Malidēva

Kāma (*Yuvarāja*)

rāja

rāja

or Nala-

gāma or

Nala-Kāma

c. 1170—1190 A.D.

RAJENDRA I AND ÇODA BHĪMA

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Verse 82 of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates runs thus:

daṇḍena Bhīmēna yudhi praviṇḍo
yad-Rājarājō nihātō madākhyah |
tad Bhīmanāmānam arandhram-Andhram
hanmīti daṇḍena jaghāna tam sah ||

In his summary of these plates Mr. Venkayya said that this verse mentioned the defeat (by Rājarāja Cōḷa) of an Āndhra king named Bhīma, who had killed a certain Rājarāja.¹ Likewise Mr. Krishna Sastri in his edition of these plates observed: "He also killed the faultless Āndhra king Bhīma for the mere reason that the latter had killed by a powerful club a certain Rājarāja, his namesake, who was an expert in war (V. 82). This statement makes it clear that Rājarāja unnecessarily interfered in the politics of the Āndhra country, by killing a king called Bhīma. This Bhīma and the Rājarāja killed by him have not been identified".² His translation of the verse runs: "Since Rājarāja, an expert in war, of the same name as myself, has been killed by a powerful club, I shall, therefore, kill that Āndhra (king) called Bhīma though (he may be) faultless. So saying he (Arumōḷivarman) killed him (i.e., Bhīma) with a mace"³

This story of two successive employments of the crudest method of killing an enemy by beating him with a club appeared to me eminently unsatisfactory, when I came to consider the subject while engaged in writing the history of the Cōḷas. I was not quite satisfied with the results of my efforts to explain the matter, but I gave what I considered an improved translation of the verse in the following terms:

"As Rājarāja of name and skilled in battle has been attacked by Bhīma with his army, so shall I attack the flawless Telugu *arandhram andhram*-Bhīma by name—(thinking) this wise, he (Rājarāja) attacked him with an army".

And I appended a note saying: "Krishna Sastri, by translating *daṇḍa* into a 'club' or 'mace' and *han* into 'kill' has missed the obvious meaning of the verse".⁴ I explained the identity of Bhīma with the aid

1 *A.R.E.*, 1909, Pt. II, para 16.

2 *S.I.I.*, III, pp. 387—388.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 421.

4 *Cōḷas* I, p. 217.

of Conjeevaram inscription of Cōḍa Bhīma, to which Rājārāja added a postscript, and the Pabhubarru plates of Śaktivarman, and left the identity of Bhīma's other opponent, the namesake of the Cōḷa monarch unexplained.

A perusal of the recently issued *Jayanti Romayya Pantulu Commemoration Volume* of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* set me thinking on the problem again; for in two places in this volume the contents of this verse are referred to by two scholars, and in one of these my translation of the verse is also cited and discussed. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao explains this verse⁵ by assuming two encounters between Cōḍa Bhīma and Rājārāja Cōḷa. "And in the first encounter, as the Tiruvāṅgāḍu plates suggest, Rājārāja despatched a general of his name against Cōḍa Bhīma, who was defeated and slain. It was on the second occasion that Rājārāja I succeeded in overthrowing his great foe". And taken by itself this does sound a very plausible explanation of the verse.

Again Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar cites the translations of Krishna Sastri and myself as well as the original verse and adds:⁶ 'Apart from the technicalities of interpretation, the passage makes it absolutely clear that a certain Bhīma killed a certain other ruler Rājārāja in whom Cōḷa Rājārāja was interested. In retaliation Rājārāja killed that Bhīma in the same way that Bhīma killed Rājārāja'. Again, 'there must have been another person, his (Bhīma's) neighbour perhaps, with the name or title of Rājārāja, possibly an ally of the Cōḷa, or a person in whom the Cōḷas were interested'.

Now I really think that we have all been in the wrong all the time, and that we have been tricked by the learned poet Nārāyaṇa (the composer of the long *prasasti* to which this verse belongs) into treating legend as history. The true solution of the puzzle lies in the fact that Rājārāja is one of the names of Duryōdhana. The one historical fact recorded in the verse is Rājārāja's war with Cōḍa Bhīma. The rest is mythology and panditry, of which we have other conspicuous examples in other verses in the *prasasti*—viz., Taila being equated to the Cālukya king and oil (v. 81), the reference to the superiority of the Cōḷa to the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa (v. 80), of Rājendra to Bhagīratha (v. 109) and so on. In this verse that has so long sent us on the quest of a non-existent Rājārāja, the poet is indulging his fancy playing upon the names Bhīma and Rājārāja and linking up a famous incident in the Mahābhārata, the killing of the great warrior Duryōdhana by Bhīmasēna, with the Cōḷa Rājārāja's expedition against Cōḍa Bhīma. The true rendering of the verse therefore is:

5 JAHRS, X, p. 57.

6 *Ibid.* p. 184

"As Rājarāja (Duryōdhana), my namesake skilled in war, was killed by Bhīma, thinking thus he (Rājarāja Cōḷa) fell upon him with an army."

It should be remembered that the Conjeevaram inscription records that Cōḷa Bhīma became a prisoner of Rājarāja, and therefore *jaghāna* cannot mean 'killed'. It is also clear that *danḍa* refers to Bhīmasēna's mace in its first use in the verse and to Rājarāja's forces later on.

RATIO OF SILVER TO GOLD UNDER COLA RULE;

A Correction

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Following the *Epigraphical Report* for 1915, Part II, paragraph 33 I wrote at pp. 376-377 of *Colas* II as follows:

"Of the value of metals we learn incidentally that bronze sold at 35 *palams* per *kāsu* (half *kalāñju* of gold), copper at 30 *palams*, silver at $26\frac{2}{3}$ *palams*, and *tarā* (alloy) at 70 *palams*; these rates are found in a record of 1099 A.D. from Tiruppanandal. The relative cheapness of silver may be noted in view of the opinion some times expressed that the metal was rare in S. India."

This contains an incredible error regarding the value of silver, and I had overlooked it until it was pointed to me by a friendly reviewer of my book, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, who also suggested that the metal in question was tin. I have since looked up the text of the inscription in question which was kindly lent to me by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharyulu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and the relevant passage in l. 25 of 46 of 1916 reads:

Vellīya nīrai irupadin palattukkuk-kāsu mukkālum.

Prof. Rangaswami's surmise therefore turns out to be correct, and the metal in question is not silver (*velli*), but tin (*vellīyam*). I must therefore request my readers to substitute 'tin' for 'silver' in l. 3 of the paragraph extracted above, and cancel the last sentence in it. Also at l. 4 from the end in the *Annual Epigraphical Report* 1915, part II, para 23, the word 'silver' must be replaced by 'tin'.

ELURU GRANT OF SARYALOKASRAYA,

Dated 10th Year.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

This copper-plate grant was sent to me sometime ago by my friend Mr. Rudrarāju Venkatarāma Rāju of Malikipuram, Razole taluk, East Godavari District, for the purpose of publishing it in the pages of this *Journal*. He did not inform me where and in what circumstances he discovered the plates; but he told me that he rescued the plates from destruction. All students of history must indeed be thankful to him for the service he had rendered. As a matter of fact a slice of the last plate was cut away by the vandal to test if the metal was gold before Mr. Venkatarāma Rāju secured the set.

This is a set of three copper-plates each measuring 5" by 2½", held together by a ring which is about 1¾" in diameter, the ends of which are fastened beneath a circular seal. The ring was uncut when the plates reached me. The seal is circular in shape and contains countersunk on its surface in bold Eastern Chālukyan characters the legend *Sri Vijayasiddhi* and an expanded lotus with seven petals at the bottom and the infant moon with a star near by, on the top. The entire set including the ring and the seal weighs 62 tolas.

The plates seem to have been subjected to some amount of hammering before actually a small piece had been sliced off. Nevertheless, the writing on the plates is in a fair state of preservation. There is writing on the inner side only of the two outer plates and on both the sides of the middle plate. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to protect the writing on them. Each plate contains seven lines of writing except the last one which breaks off abruptly about the beginning of the 4th line. The alphabet is the usual Eastern Chālukya type and may be assigned to the period to which the inscription belongs. The language of the inscription is barbarous Sanskrit prose with the exception of two broken imprecatory verses at the end. The person who drafted the charter was utterly ignorant of Sanskrit grammar, *Sandhi* rules and perhaps even some words. The record was carelessly engraved. In spite of this the record is interesting and important. As regards orthography it may be remarked that the scribe wrote *añjāpayati* (l. 12) for *añjāpayati*, *rañj.ta* for *rañjita*, (l. 12) *anuja* for *anuja* (l. 6) and *nripati* for *nṛpati* (l. 11) using both the secondary forms of the vowels *r* and *i*. *Sandhi* rules and grammar are neglected and it is needless to refer to them.

This is a record of the reign of Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya who had another name Śrī Vijayasiddhi, "the glorious One, who has attained the accomplishment of victory." He is the son of Vishṇuvardhana II and grandson of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the younger brother of Jayasīmhavallabha I. This is the third copper-plate record of the king, Sarvalōkāśraya. The first grant is the Chendalūru plates dated in the 2nd year¹ and the second is the undated Telugu Academy plates.² The second is not published in English and much less correctly. King Sarvalōkāśraya is not known by that appellation to the writers of the later Eastern Chālukya charters. He is called by his more familiar name Mangi Yuvarāja. It is quite probable that original name of the king was Mangi and that after his annointment as *Yuvaraja*, the prince came to be mentioned as Mangi-Yuvaraja. After his accession Yuvarāja-Mangi assumed the appellation Śrī Sarvalōkāśraya, "the Asylum of the Universe."

It may be a useful study to mention here that the preambles of the charters of Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya differ materially one from the other. The most simple *prāśasti* appears in the Telugu Academy plates and the most elaborate one in the Chendalūru grant. The elaborate *prāśasti* was employed apparently to suit to the needs of the occasion. The Chendalūru charter records a grant that seems to have been made after the conquest and consolidation of new territory. The *prāśasti* is all the more interesting as it reminds us of several epithets which we come across in the Pallava charters found in that region called Karmarāshṭra. King Sarvalōkāśraya's royal splendour and valour are described in a beautiful passage which runs thus, "nija-bhuja-parākram-āvanamit = ānēka śatru sāmanta = ānita dvirada prati-mada-dharābhishēka karddam-iti sapta-chchhada surabhi-ramyāṅgaṇ-ōpa-visṭ = ānēka rājany-āmita kōlā-halībhūta-rājadvāraḥ.....anēka samara sāhas = āvamardda-labdha-Vijayasiddhiḥ..... dṛṣṭānta iva Bhūmi-patīnām Paramabrahmaṇyaḥ." This passage seems to imply that Mangi Yuvarāja wrested once for all that part of the Southern Āndhradesa from the Pallava king of Kanchi. It appears from the Telugu Academy plates, that Sarvalōkāśraya's capital was Vijayavāḍa, i.e., the modern Bezwada.

The inscription records the grant of two fields, which require each a seed of twelve *khaṇḍis* of paddy, made with libation of water, to a brāhmaṇ named Śrīdharaśarman, an inhabitant of Ayyavōḷu, on the occasion of the *anna-prāśana* ceremony for prince Vishṇuvardhana in the tenth year of reign, by Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya. One field lay in the eastern quarter and the other was in the eastern quarter of Ēlūru, which may be identified with the modern town of Ellore, the headquarters of the West Godavari District. Two more localities, Ayyavōḷu and Vālivinnu are mentioned in

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII p. 232.

2 *Andhra-Saṁhita Parishat-patrika*. Vol. II, pp. 213-217.

the charter but they cannot be identified to-day. The inscription is interesting for, it speaks of *anna-prāśana samskāra* for prince Vishṇu-
vardhana who afterwards became the king of the Āndhra country under
the name of Vishṇuvardhana III, and reigned from about April 719 to
about May 755 A.D.³ If Vishṇuvardhana's *annaprāśana* took place in
the 10th year of his father's reign, then it must be that he was just six
months old on that occasion, for, usually this *samskāra* is performed for
the male child between 5th and 8th month and preferably in the 6th month.
The accession of Sarvalōkāśraya has been placed by me on or about April
(682 A.D. and thus the 10th year of reign falls in 692 A.D.)⁴ That being
so, Vishṇuvardhana's birth may have taken place towards the close of
692 A.D. or in the early months of 693 A.D. Vishṇuvardhana III
ascended the throne after the death of his eldest step-brother and after
the expulsion of his own younger brother Kokkili who usurped the throne
for a period of six months, in March 719 A.D. These facts enable us to
determine his age as about 28 years on the date of his accession to the
throne. Vishṇuvardhana III reigned for 36 years and thus the span of
his life would appear to be at least 63 or 64 years.

Text 1

First Plate:

- 1 स्वस्ति [*] [श्रीम]ता सकल भुवन संस्तूयमान मानव्यसगोत्राणां
- 2 2 कोशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां स्वाभिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां स्मृतृग-
- 3 णपरिपालितानां म्भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित वरवरा-
- 4 हलाञ्छनानां अश्वमेधावभृषस्तानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां च-
- 5 लुब्धानां कुलजलसमुदितेन्द्र[*]नयविनय वी[वि]क्रमोपार्जित चारु
- 6 भूर[कि]र्ते[*]भ्रजियातेद्वलभनद्वारा जय विद्यागुजयद्वन्द्व
- 7 भानविक्रमस्य श्रीइन्द्र भट्टारकस्य भूतो रनेकसनरत्न ०

Second plate First side:

- 8 घटोपलब्ध युद्धविजययशः प्रसूयामोद गन्धादिवाति-
- 9 त सकल ० दिग्गण्डलस्य श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन महाराजस्य विद्यमान

3 See my *Revised Chronology etc JAHRS*. Vol IX part iv.

4 See my *Revised Chronology*, chart on (page 80)

1. From the original plates in my possession.

2. Read Kauśikī 3. Read samudritēndōḥ

4. Read priy-ānjasya.

5. The *anusvāra* which ought to be correctly placed on the letter *sa* is placed on *gha* in the second place.

6. Read diñ-maṇḍalasya.

- 10 यः समति शत⁷पितृगुण शक्ति संपन्नः अन्वीक्ष्यदि विद्या प्र-
 11 योशेषः⁸श्रीविजयसिद्धिः स्वासिधारारिपु⁹नृपतिवरम-
 13 कुटतटघटितानेक मणिकिरणरागरञ्जितारुण पादयुगळ¹⁰
 18 श्री सव्व [लो] काश्रयमहाराजः एवमाञ्जापयति¹¹ [*]अध्यबोलु-
 14 वास्तव्याय भरद्वाजसगोत्राय तेत्रिय¹²ब्रह्मचारिण विष्णु-

Second Plate : Second side

- 16 स्मर्ण [:*] पवुत्राय¹³वेन्नशर्मण [:*] पुत्राय¹⁴शतकर्मनिरताय श्रीधरशर्म-
 16 णे¹⁵ वें धिविषये एल्लरु [नाम] ग्रामे पूर्वदिशया वा[व]स्मीक [:।] पूर्वतः[*]
 वस्मीक [:।]
 17 दक्षिणत[:।*] वा[व]स्मीक[*] पश्चिमत[:।*] [ज*] टश्रिघ¹⁶उत्तरत[:।*]
 16 एतेत्तचतुरवाधि द्वाद
 18 श [ख] क णिड्कोद्रव बीजपरिप्रमाण क्षेत्रं¹⁷ उत्तरदिशा म्कुलाबुत-¹⁸
 19 ¹⁹राकः पूर्वतः [।*] जटश्रिघ²⁰दक्षिणत[:।*] वालिभिन्दिशीना पश्चमतः [।*]
 21 [जट-]
 20 श्रिघं उत्तरतः [।*] एतेश्च²²तुरवाधि द्वादश क [ख]णिडक²³ कोद्रवबीजप-
 21 रिप्रमाणक्षेत्रं विष्णुवद्वर्न अन्नप्रास²⁴निमित्तं²⁵दिदकपूर्व दत्त [म् ।*]

Third plate : First side.

- 22 ग्रिहस्तान²⁶ पुष्पवाटिकसाहितं सव्वकरपरिहोप व - [***]
 23 विजयराज्यसंव [त्स] रे दशमे [पि ।*] भूमि दानात्परदानं न भू [त * * *]

7. Read śayata

8. Read prayōgaśēshaḥ.

9. Read nṛpati.

10. Read rañjita-pāda-yugaḷaḥ.

11. Read ajñāpayati.

12. Read Taittirīyasa-brahmachārīṇē.

13. Read pautrāya.

14. Read Vēngi.

15. Read Jaṭasṅgaḥ.

16. Read Ētaiś-cha.

17. Here the scribe seems to have left out a word like *api cha* to indicate that another field also was given.

18. Read diśāyām Kulyā

19. Read taṭākḥ.

20. Read Jaṭasṅgaḥ

21. Read Jaṭasṅgaḥ

22. Read Ētaiś-cha.

23. Read *khaṇḍi*.

24. Read anna-prāśana.

25. Read udaka.

26. I am indebted to my friend Mr. M. Samasekhara Sarma for suggesting this reading. Read "grhasthāna."

- 24 व्यति [1*] तस्य 27 हेव हरणात्पापं न भूतन भविष्यति [1*] स्वदत्तां-
 25 तां वा योद्धेति व. 28

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Ll. 1-5. Of the race of the illustrious Chalukyas, whose crest is the emblem of the Boar; whose bodies were purified by the final ablutions at the end of an Aśvamēdha sacrifice;

Ll. 5-7. The son's son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka who equalled Indra in valour and who was the dear younger brother of Jayasimhavallabha mahārāja of spotless great fame;

Ll. 7-12. The dear son of Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana (II), who obtained success in several tumultuous battles and whose fame had spread in all quarters;

Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya, whose other name is Vijayasiddhi, whose pair of feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of many princes conquered by the edge of his sword, commands thus:

Ll. 13-22. On the occasion of the *anna-prāśana* of prince Viṣṇuvardhana, it has been given by Us with the libation of water to the Brahman, Śrīdharaśarman, an inhabitant of Ayyavōḷu, who is devoted to the performance of the six-fold duties, who is the son's son of Viṣṇuśarman and son of Vennaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja-*gotra*, who is a *brahmachārin* of the Taittiriya-*ākhā*, a field which requires a seed of 12 *khandis* of paddy, in the eastern quarter of the village Ēlūru, which is bounded by an ant-hill on the east, an ant-hill on the south, an ant-hill on the west and Jaṭasṛṅga on the north; and another field in the northern quarter, which requires twelve *khandis* of paddy as seed and whose boundaries are, on the east a canal-fed tank, Jaṭasṛiṅga²⁹ on the south Vāniviṣṭi-sīma (or the boundary of the village Vāniviṣṇu) and Jaṭasṛṅga on the north.

The two fields have been given by us, along with a house-site and a flower garden.

Then follow the usual imprecatory verses.

27. Read ūva.

28. Here the inscription breaks off abruptly.

29. The meaning of this word Jaṭasṛiṅga is not clear, whether it is the name of a village or a tree.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY

MEETING HELD ON 3-4-1938 & 1-5-38.

Seventeen Members were present at the meeting. Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, President of the Society took the chair.

A preliminary objection was taken for reading and discussing the Honorary Secretary's Annual Report when the auditor's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure and his Report thereon was not available especially when the accounts of the Society had not been audited as desired by the Government for the last three years. The Hony. Secretary informed the house that the Accounts were being checked by the Auditor and Registered Accountant, Mr. D. Kameswara Rao, B.A., R.A. Thereupon the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:

"Resolved that the adoption of the Honorary's Secretary's Report and other items on the agenda be postponed till the Report of the Auditor and the statement of accounts are received. The meeting is adjourned to 24th April, 7-30 A.M. for the said purpose.

The Meeting could not be held on 24th April for want of the Auditor's Report etc. It was again adjourned to 1-5-1938.

Proceedings of the adjourned meeting 17th Annual General Body held on 1-5-1938.

PRESENT :

- 1 Mr. Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, (in the Chair)
- 2 „ M. Subahramanyam
- 3 „ C. Amaram
- 4 „ T. V. S. Ramakrishna Rao
- 5 „ P. Kameswara Rao
- 6 „ Rebbaprggada Subba Rao
- 7 „ A. Sankara Rao
- 8 „ D. Ch. Kameswara Rao
- 9 „ B. V. Sastri
- 10 „ M. S. Venkatachariar
- 11 „ V. Ramachandra Murty
- 12 „ N. Kameswara Rao
- 13 „ N. Subba Rao Pantulu
- 14 „ Rallabandi Subba Rao
- 15 „ B. V. Krishna Rao
- 16 „ Vissa Appa Rao
- 17 „ D. Venkata Rao
- 18 „ M. Sambasiva Rao

- 19 Mr. M. Anna. Reddi
- 20 Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao
- 21 Mr. K. S. Gopala Rao
- 22 „ Vaddadi Appa Rao

Resolutions adopted after reading the Auditor's Report on the Statements of accounts for the years 1935—36, 1936—37 and 1937—38.

1. Resolved that the Statements of Receipts and Expenditure be passed. This meeting requests the Managing Council hereafter to carry out the suggestions and follow the instructions given by the Auditor,

2. Resolved that an Honorarium of Rs. 10/- only be paid to the Auditor for the work willingly and enthusiastically done by him.

3. The Hony. Secretary's Annual Report of the Working of the Society is read and adopted.

4. The following Office-Bearers are elected to hold office for the year 1938—39:

Mr. K. N. Anantaraman, M.A., I.C.S., is declared elected as the President of the Society, by 12 votes against 9 obtained by the last year's President, Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao.

Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu is elected as Vice-President unanimously.

Mr. B. V. Krishnarao. is unanimously elected as the Honorary Secretary.

Mr. K. S. Gopala Rao is elected unanimously as the Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. V. Ramachandra Murty is unanimously elected as the Honorary Librarian & Curator.

The following gentlemen are elected to the Managing Council as non-official members:

- Mr. Rallabandi Subba Rao
- „ M. Sambasiva Rao
- „ M. Anna Reddi
- Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur

The meeting dissolved after recording a vote of thanks for the out-going office-bearers.

MINUTES of the Managing Council meeting held on 8—5—1938.

PRESENT :—

- K. N. Anantaraman Esq., President
- Mr. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao
- „ K. S. Gopala Rao
- Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao
- Mr. R. Subba Rao
- „ V. S. Ramachandra murty

1. Resolved to admit Mr. Dittakavi Sandilya, M.A., (Oxon) and Mr. A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., L.L.B., as ordinary members of the Society:

2. After considering at length the question of collection of arrears from local members, the following resolution is adopted.

Resolved that in view of the financial difficulties in which the Society is placed, the local members be requested to be generous enough

and pay the subscription for the year 1935-36, which has been in arrears. The Secretary is requested to circulate the Resolution.

3. Resolved that in view of the increased cost of printing, paper and postage etc., the subscription of the Journal for institutions be raised from Rupees Six to Rupees Eight excluding postage. The Hony. Secretary's action in having charged the enhanced rate from the institutions for Volume X of the Journal is approved.

Resolved further to ratify the action of the Hony. Secretary in raising the subscription of the mofussil members to the uniform rate of Rs. 4 in view of heavy postal rates.

4. Resolved that the accounts of the Society up to date be passed.

5. Resolved that Parts 3 & 4 of the Journal of Vol. XI be issued as a consolidated Part.

6. Resolved to appoint a sub-committee consisting of Mr. N. Kameswara Rao and Mr. R. Subba Rao to take stock of the Publications, (Telugu and English) of the Society up to date and to submit a Report as early as possible.

MINUTES of the Managing Council Meeting held on 12-6-1938.

Present:

- (1) K. N. Anantaraman Esq., I.C.S.
- (2) Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao
- (3) Mr. M. Sambasiva Rao
- (4) Mr. R. Subba Rao
- (5) Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurty
- (6) Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu.

Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as ordinary members:-

Mr. Krittivent Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., Headmaster, High School,
Pentapadu, West Godavari District

Mr. Daddanala Lakshmi Satyanarayana,
Editor, 'Padmanayaka', Rajahmundry

2. Regarding the celebration of the Reddi Empire Day and publication of the *Reddi Samchika*; Resolved to celebrate Reddi Empire Day in September 1938 and necessary quantity of paper not less than 30 reams of D/C printing paper be purchased and that the work of printing of the *Reddi Samchika* be commenced immediately.

Resolved further (a) to elect the following gentlemen to the Editorial Board for the *Reddi Samchika*:

- (1) Mr. M. Anna Reddi,
- (2) Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao,
- (3) Mr. V. S. Ramachandra Murty, and

(b) resolved that Mr. G. Janakirama Chowdhari's name may be deleted from the Editorial Board, as he is not able to attend to this work.

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Vol. XII

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Part II

THE SORAS AND THEIR COUNTRY

G. V. SITAPATI, B.A., L.T.

Introduction

The Soras* are the descendants of the Savaras or Sabaras referred to in the *Aitar̥ya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other Sanskrit texts and called *Suari* by Pliny and *Sabraē* by Ptolemy.

The present home of the Soras whom I have been investigating with ethnological interest and whose total population, according to the latest census is 211,781 is briefly described as follows in the Census of India, 1931 Vol. I, p. 3:— "The Saora area could be described as the basin of the Vainādhāra, 'bamboo' river. Gunupur holds most of the upper reaches of this; Parlakimidi, the lower and between them, these taluks contain two-thirds of all the Saoras in the Presidency" (of Madras, before the formation of the new province of Orissa in 1935). It is also noted in the Census records that the Soras are found in Kodala taluk, north of Berhampur in the Ganjam district, in the hills near the Chilka lake "not as isolated wanderers but in a small settled clump". I should like to include in the present home of the Soras, the Mandasa estate lying to the north-east of Parlakimidi, because the Soras in this locality, though they have been partly Oriyaised, still maintain their language, religion and social customs.

A few hundred years ago, this Sora country extended southward so as to include the three Taluks of Palakonda, Parlakimidi

* Savara is the spelling adopted in official records; Sora represents the pronunciation of the Soras themselves; Saora is the new official spelling, adopted probably as a compromise, in the Census records of 1931.

and Tekkali. The Telugus, a stronger and more civilised people drove them to the present home of the Soras. But there are still hundreds of Sora villages in these taluks. Most of the Soras in these taluks have exchanged their language for Telugu and adopted some Telugu customs and manners but they have not quite given up their religious practices.

It would be very interesting to trace the history and migration of the Soras from the Vedic times to the present day; but the task is very difficult because authentic information is scanty. On ethnological and linguistic grounds, scholars have grouped the Soras with the Mundas, Santals, Juangs etc., in the north and the Gutbos, Parengs (both known as Gadabas) and Remos (known as Bonda Parazas) in the south-west of the present home of the Soras under one family called Kolarian or Munda-Kolarian but Sora seems to be a more appropriate name since in ancient literature, it was used as a generic appellation for all the tribes. General Cunningham pointed out (*Vide Arch. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, p. 139) that in ancient times, the name Savara included all the different tribes of the Kols and in support of this statement, Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy mentioned several facts (*Vide "The Mundas and their country"*, pp. 52-54, footnote §): "The Kolarian Santals, as we know, are called Savaras by the Male Paharias (*Vide Cunning.* XVII, p. 125). The Parna Savaras named by Barāha Mihira about 550 A.D. have been supposed to refer to the leaf-clad Juangs, another Kolarian tribe. The Kolarian Bendkars who now live about the Thākurani Hill on the boundary line between Singbhoom and the tributary state of Keonjhar described themselves as Savaras in the Census of 1872. Even now, the name Savara is borne by the southernmost branch of the Kol race living in the two northernmost districts of Madras and neighbouring districts of Orissa and the Central Provinces "

A knowledge of the fact that in ancient times, the name Savara included all the different tribes of the name Kols affords a sort of relief to the investigator because in tracing the migration of the Soras, he can take into account the habitat of other kindred tribes as a possible region where the Soras could have stayed for a time. The Puranas described the Savaras as Vindhyaaulikas meaning the aborigines of the Vindhya mountains. They were described as a wild race of wood cutters living in jungles without any fixed habitat; but from the Epigraphic records of a later date, we find that they (at any rate some of them) had not only

passed from the stage of hunters to that of agriculturists but were further advanced in civilization, ruling over territories and measuring swords with the rulers of the kingdoms in the plains. We also learn from references to the Savaras in ancient literature and Epigraphic records that they gradually spread over a vast area on either side of the Vindhya upto the Ganges in the north and the Godavari in the south and lived in varying grades of civilization — as rude hunters wearing leaves of trees as garments and also as civilised people possessing territories ruled by their own rulers. They seem to have gone in course of time as far south as Palakonda and Śrīkurmam in the Vizagapatam district. From an inscription in the Śrīkurmam temple, we learn that they once raided on it.¹ One of the two Korni copper-plate grants² which I edited tells us that Kamarnava, the founder of the Kalinga Ganga dynasty defeated and killed at Dantapura (near Chicacole) Śabarāditya, the previous ruler of the locality—an event of about 720 A.D. Among the places referred to, as indicating the ancient habitat of the Savaras, is the Vindhya region in the neighbourhood of the districts of Mirzapur and Allahabad. General Cunningham says that the name Sabara for the aboriginal people is quite familiar in the Baghelkhand tract. He has also proved that there was once a principality of the Sabaras (*Suiri ki Raj*) near Ghazipur. According to Mr. Risley, "local tradition ascribes to the Savaras, the conquest of the Cheros and their expulsion from the plateau of Shahabad about 500 A.D. A number of ancient monuments in the Shahabad district are still put down to the Savars or Suirs, who are supposed to have been driven south by the inroad of Rajputs under the Bhojpur chief, which appears to have ended their rule". (Vide *Handbook of Castes and Tribes of the Tea Districts Labour Association*, p. 241). In the article on Savar, Sawara, Savara, Saonr, Sahra published in *Central Provinces—Castes and Tribes* we find the following interesting references to the habitat of these people. "In Bundelkhand the Savars, there called Saonrs, are frequently known by the honorific title of Rāwat They (Savars) also live in the Bundelkhand districts of the United Provinces. The total number of Savars enumerated in India in 1911 was 6,00,000 of which the Bundelkhand districts contained about 1,00,000 and the Uriya country the remainder. The two branches of the tribe are thus separated by a wide expanse of territory. As regards this peculiarity of distribution,

1. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1312.2. *JAHRS*, Vol. I. pp. 107. f.

General Cunningham says 'Indeed there seems good reason to believe that the Savars were formerly the dominant branch of the great Kolarian family and that their power lasted down to a comparatively late period, where they were pushed aside by other Kolarian tribes in the north and east and by the Gonds in the south. In the Sangor district I was informed that the Savaras had formerly fought with the Gond and that the latter had conquered them by treacherously making them drunk' (*Arch. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 120, 122)''.

There are Soras (Savars or Saonrs or whatever be the variant by which they are known in the locality) in several places outside their present home, in the northern division of Orissa and the Tributary states in Singbhum, Sambalpur, Raipur, Bilaspur, Patna, Kalhandi, Sarangarh, Raigarh and further north in Sangor and Damok. But the Soras in all these places have exchanged their language for that of the predominant people of the locality.

It is not possible to trace the history and migration of the Soras chronologically because there are only a few dated inscriptions in which references to the Soras were made. The Korni Copper-plate grant of Anantavarma Choda Ganga noticed above, refers to an event of about 720 A.D. In the Udayendiram Plates of the 21st year of Pallava Nandivarman, Pallava Malla (about 736 A.D. Vide *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 74, p. 265 and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 274), it is stated that Udayachandra defeated the Sabara chief Udayana at Nelveli, captured his mirror banner made of peacock feathers and pursued the Nishada chief, Prithvi Vyaghra in the northern region. There was a dispute about the identification of the Sabaras mentioned in this grant. The Rev. T. Foulks identified them with the Savaras (the Soras of my article). But Dr. Hultzsch who re-edited the grant did not agree with him. Later on, however, Mr. Mazumdar who edited the Sonpur plates confirmed the opinion of the Rev. Foulks. From the inscription at Sravana Belgola, (Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 176) we learn that Marasimha II, the Western Ganga king destroyed the Sabara chief Naraga in about 950 A.D. From the Naihati grant of Vellalasēna of about 1100 A.D. (Vide *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 18, No. 10, verse 12) we learn that the children of the kings who were his (Vellalasēna's) enemies were living in the houses of Savaras. (Naihati is in the Kotwa subdivision of the Burdwan district of Bengal). In the Rock Inscription of the time of Bhōjavarmān (1300 A.D.) near the Tirhavan gate of the fort of Ajayagadh (Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I,

pp. 330—338), it is mentioned that Ananda, Governor of the fort of Jayapura (Ajayagadh) subdued the wild tribes of Bhillas, Sabaras and Pulindas (Vide verses 21—22, pp. 332 and 337). From the Khadavada (or the New Indore State Museum) inscription of the time of Gyasahi (Ghiyas Shah Khalji) of Mandu 1484 A.D., we learn that Salaha, military officer of Gyasahi of Mandu quelled a Sabara revolt at Khidavada on the Chamanvati, excavated a step well and tanks there, defeated Kshemakarna at Samkhoddhara on the Chambal and destroyed Ibrahim, a thorn to the Sultan of Malwa.

Linguistic evidence supports the theory that the Soras had been for a time in Malwa before they migrated eastward and southward. The Sora suffix *tā* added to verbal root to denote progress or continuity of action as in *Yerātā*. *Yerātā* -- while going, corresponds to *tā* in the Aryan language, Marathi, *mārātā-mārātā* -- while striking (Vide *Ling. Survey*, VII 209). The Sora word *Kēda* from Sanskrit *kētaki* (-- *Pandanus odoratissimus*) must have come from the Marathi word *kētūṭā*. It could not have come from the Oriya word, *khiyo* or the Telugu word *kētaki* or *kēda(n)gi*. Among the deified persons of the olden days, the Soras mention *Inḍurā* (or *Inḍorā*) *rājā*, and *Soḍanga rājā*. In all probability the former refers to a Rajah of Indore and the latter to Anantavarma Choḍa Ganga, 1078—1140 A. D.

From a study of the Sora music, religious practices, magico-religious charms (popularly known as *Sibara mantrams*) and metaphysical speculations,¹ I am disposed to think that the Soras must have lived for some time in the vicinity of the Aryans of the Vedic period, imbibed their culture to some extent and influenced the Aryan thought in the field of magico-religious charms; and that subsequently, after they were driven by the Aryans, they have been almost secluded and unaffected by the post Vedic Aryan culture.

What could have been the original home of the Soras—whether it was in India or elsewhere, is a matter of speculation; but on linguistic and ethnological considerations, it is maintained that the Soras are pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian and that their language belongs to the Munda (or Kolarian) family comprising about sixteen languages like Santālī, Muḥārī; that all these languages are related to Khasi of Assam and Mon-khmer of Further India. Pater W. Schmidt of Austria grouped all these languages as branches of a

1. A detailed discussion of these topics will be made in the subsequent articles on this subject.

great family of languages, called 'Austrie', "which is spread over an area wider than that occupied by any other group of 'tongues. Its speakers are found scattered over Nearer and Further India and form the native population of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, including Madagascar and New Zealand. It extends from Madagascar off the Coast of Africa to Easter Island, which is less than forty degrees from the Coast of South America. In the north, traces of it were discovered in Kanāwar in the Punjab and its southern limit included New Zealand. West of Eastern Island it covers the whole Pacific Ocean, except Australia and a part of New Guinea."²

An ethnographic and linguistic investigation of the Soras and their language, so widely connected with the other tribes and their languages inside and outside India is a desirable pursuit in the interests of Ethnology and Philology.³

Topographical description of the present Sora Country.

The present home of the Soras as described at the commencement of this article is situated on the heights of the Eastern Ghats and is about 1000 to 3000 ft. above the sea level. It extends from Mandasa (B.N.Ry. Station) in the east to Gunupur in the west and stretches northward from the northern boundary of the Parlakimedi estate for about twenty to thirty miles. It is about sixty miles long and twenty five miles broad. The hilly region extends beyond the Sora Country in the north and is inhabited mainly by the Khonds.

The highest hill in the Sora Country is Mahendragiri, situated in the western part of the Mandasa estate. It rises to a height of about 5000 ft. above the sea level. One standing on the top of

2. *Linguistic Survey*, I. i. p. 32.

3. My father Rao Sahib G.V. Ramamurti mastered the Sora language, and his *Manual of the Sora (Savara) language*, *English-Sora Dictionary* and *Sora-English Dictionary* were published under the authority of Government of Madras. "His Manual" as Mr. A. Galletti I.C.S. says in his Introduction to it, "crowns the work of half a lifetime devoted to scientific research into the Savara language". In the Author's Preface, my father referred to my contribution to his work and to my *Ethnographic Studies*: "My eldest son, G. V. Sitapati who has acquired a good knowledge of Sora and is now occupied with an ethnographic investigation of the Soras, as Research Fellow of the Andhra University, has rendered most valuable services not only in the preparation of the Manual but also in reading the proofs".

I owe a monograph on the Soras to the Andhra University that awarded me a Research Fellowship but my work has been unfortunately delayed on account of some unavoidable disturbances and disappointments in my life. I now propose to contribute a series of articles on the subject to this Journal as a preliminary step to the final shaping of the monograph.

this majestic hill would look on with great delight, the Bay of Bengal and glance one's eye over a part of the Bengal Nagapur Railway line which can be easily traced by five conspicuous Railway stations from Sompeta to Naupada.

From a considerable height of this hill and from the same source spring out three rivers, known by the same name, Mahēndra tanaya (= daughter of the Mahendra hill). The river flowing eastward falls into the Bay of Bengal near Baruva, while those flowing westward and southward join the Vamsādhāra river; the former at Gunupur and the latter at a place which is to the southwest of Parlakimedi at a distance of about ten miles. A small part of the first, the whole of the second and a major part of the third of three rivers pass through the valleys of the Sora Country,

To the north of Parlakimedi, at a distance of about 8 miles, stands prominently, a high hill of about 3000 feet above the sea level, called by the Soras, Diabur, meaning the waist or middle hill. The Sora name has been Sanscritised as Devagiri. From this hill, stretches northward, across the middle part of the Sora country, an almost continuous chain of hills for about 50 miles. The northernmost end of this chain which is comparatively low is in the vicinity of Chinnakimidi; the middle part which rises high overlooks Peddakimidi; and at the southernmost end stands Diabur sloping southward to a village known as Parla, which with two more hamlets constitutes the modern town of Parlakimidi. The common part of these three place names was pronounced in the past as Kimidia, as could be seen from some inscriptions; it probably comes from the Sora word, *kim-mid-dia(-bur)* meaning the-one-waist(-hill).

The configuration of this Sora country is very picturesque with the lofty green hills and darting waterfalls rushing along the sloping precipices and table lands; with the gaping ravines and meandering hill-streams; and with lofty peaks of rocks and thick jungles. The hand of the Sora has, to some extent, marred the natural beauty of the green hills by burning them for his 'poḍu' or extensive cultivation but has, on the other hand, richly enhanced the picturesqueness of the sloping hills and valleys by his terraced paddy fields which rise one above the other and are supported by the revetment of stones, all along their edges and sides and profusely irrigated by the ever flowing waters of the sportive water falls at the top.

Besides the ordinary trees of the plains, there are huge timber trees like the Sāl and Ebony. The soil is fertile and consequently there is hardly any piece of land which is not covered with some vegetation or other. As you pass along a foot-path in this wild country, you may chance to see a panther hiding in a bush or a snake crawling by your side. There is a variety of huge snakes—python or boa-constrictor, which devours men and cattle that come close to its mouth. One day, during my stay in the heart of the Sora country, a Sora brought to my lodge, a huge snake of this variety which was about twelve feet long and about thirty inches in girth, and gave me an interesting account of his encounter. He had been lopping a tree for fuel, not noticing that he was standing on that huge snake as its body had been covered by a heap of dry leaves and underwood. In a few minutes, it began to move and the Sora felt something like a landslip. He could see, at once, that it was a snake and immediately killed it with his axe.

Among the wild animals of this country, the most ferocious are the panther, bear and hyena; the less harmful are the hog and the porcupine; the animals generally hunted for food are the deer, the stag, the wild goat, the hare and the monkey. The tiger is an occasional visitor from the northern Agency tracts.

Climate.

The climate of the country is what is generally experienced in the hill tracts of the altitude (about 3000 feet above the sea level) and latitude (from about 18.47 N. to 19.30 N.) of this part of India, modified by the south-west monsoon winds which passing towards Bengal bring heavy rain to this region and keep it fairly wet throughout the year. Mid-June to mid-September is the season of progressive rains and mid-September to mid-November is the season of retreating rains. The cold weather season commences in the last part of November and continues to the end of January. The average temperature during this season is about 55° to 70° and the weather is generally fine with a cloudless sky and comfortable sunshine. The cold season is followed by a pleasant warm sunshine in mid-February. March is generally considered to be the best part of the year for officers and other men of the plains to visit this country. Though the temperature gradually increases in April and May, it rarely goes beyond 90° and the summer is, therefore, generally mild. This could have been a good summer resort but for malaria, to conquer which, attempts are now made. The Canadian Baptist Missionary gentlemen and ladies who are settled

there stay on during summer instead of going to places like Ootacamund because the place is cool enough and the malarial mosquitoes are not then so numerous as in the other seasons.

There is no provision for measurement of rainfall by means of a rain-gauge in this country but one that has experienced rainfall here and at the neighbouring places where rainfall is measured, may have a rough estimate of the rainfall in this country. It may be provisionally stated that the average rainfall here is more than 80 inches a year.

The Sora, therefore, considers the summer to be the best part of the year and a month from mid-November to mid-December as equally pleasant. During these months, there is plenty of merry making in almost all the Sora villages during nights when the moon is bright. All the people of the village gather in a street or in an open space in the vicinity and very often the people of the neighbouring villages are also invited. A concert is given by the village choir in which the musicians of the invited villages also have a part. The young men sing erotic ditties to which the young women respond. There is, on such occasions, unstinted supply of liquor and all those that have gathered — men and women, young and old — quaff at night. Drinking and dancing go on in alternate succession among the youths. Children have their games; the older folk indulge in funny stories, riddles, jests and jokes. The Soras believe that they will have a bumper crop for the year if they have such pleasant nights and tell stories and solve riddles.

The time for gathering mohwa is from the commencement of February to the end of April, when they prepare the mohwa liquor and drink it in preference to the date or palm liquor. The months are named after their periodical occupations. Paddy harvest month is January; the red gram harvest month is February; the red gram festival month is March; the hill clearing month is April; the ploughing month is May; the weeding out month is June; the millet harvest month is July; the gathering of mushrooms month is August; the transplantation of paddy seedlings month is September; the ragi harvest month is October; the paddy growing month is November; the merry making month is December.

Homesteads.

As we get up the hill slopes covered with green bush jungle and a few large trees, we notice the rectangular stone boundaried wild fields and the short rows of villages on the slopes. The valleys

present a rich and very carefully laid out terraced rice fields. The Soras build their homesteads at the foot of a hill or on the hill sides where they find a convenient tableland keeping themselves close to a hill stream but away from the flood. Most of the Sora villages lie concealed in jungles. A stranger finds it very difficult to find the way leading into such a village because it is like a labyrinth. The rows of houses in a village are arranged in several ways, according to convenience of space. On the hill sides, the houses are built in parallel rows one above the other; in some cases they are very irregular. On level ground the villages are somewhat rectangular with a number of rows lengthwise and crosswise. A small village has only one street with houses on either side.

The ordinary Sora home is a rectangular building, about twelve feet long and six feet broad and the height of the ridge of the roof is about eight feet and the eaves are low, about four to five feet high. The front and back walls are about six feet high while the side walls are raised to support the ridge of the roof. The entrance is almost at the right end of the front wall; the back door—if there is one—is quite opposite to the front. All along the exterior side of the front wall to the left of the front door is a raised floor which contains a hollow place, spacious enough for the fowl to rest at night without any fear of being carried away by the jackals that visit the villages.

As you enter the house, you find to your right along the side wall, a raised floor where the water pots are kept. On the ground floor quite opposite to the door, is a wooden mortar fixed into the ground. This is used to husk paddy and other grains of corn. At a short distance from this, is a cup-shaped depression made into the floor and plastered with clay; it is used as a mortar to powder salt, chilli and such other things. Almost at the centre of the house, is the main post which supports the ridge of the roof. At a short distance from this main post and close to the back wall, is the hearth always with live coals throughout the year. Once a year, on the day after the full moon when the new year commences according to the reckoning of the people of Northern India, the old fire is completely replaced by the new fire brought from the huge fire of the burning pile of logs set on the previous night at a central place to which the people of several villages resort and make merry with dancing and music. In accordance with the religious ordinance which custom has imposed on them, the Soras do not eat the new produce of the year until and unless it is cooked in this new fire.

To the left of the main post, is a loft at a height of four to five feet covering completely the left portion of the house. The lower part of the house below the loft is used as the kitchen and store room containing things of daily use. The upper part above the loft is used as a store and lumber room where millets and grains are stored and things for which there is only an occasional use are kept. The walls are built of mud and stone and the surface is evenly and neatly plastered with clay, sometimes mixed with red earth. On the outside of the walls are white lines with small designs running across the lower, middle and upper portions of the walls. On the interior side of the walls of the right side portion of the house are beautiful designs and figures of men, animals, birds and trees which have a religious significance. The oven used for cooking the daily food is below the loft close to the left side wall. Over the oven and below the loft is another small loft about three feet long and two feet wide. As there is a thin layer of mud plaster on either side of the lofts, there is no danger of their catching fire. On this small loft is placed a shallow basket, containing about one measure of paddy or ragi to be husked for the day. The seeds get dry on account of the heat radiating from the oven. By the time the water set for dressing food begins to bubble, the grain seeds get dry; they are husked and rice grains are kept ready to be thrown into the pot. The staple food is generally the produce of the season. Those that can afford to store paddy have rice food throughout the year. In another pot is boiled water with tamarind and whatever vegetable leaf or fruit or edible tuber has been obtained for the day is thrown into the pot and a thick soup is made to serve as a sauce.

Except the grind-and-mill-stones, there is hardly any other instrument, tool, weapon or utensil made of stone. In several houses I noticed heavy blocks of wood used for grinding corn. Cups, ladles, spoons and vessels of several sizes and shapes are made of the bottle-gourd. I noticed in some houses large vessels of the bottle-gourd with the bottom plastered with mud, set on the oven, to cook the daily food. Earthen pots are of recent origin; they are made by the pot makers of the plains. When food has to be carried from the house to a distant place, the vessel used is invariably a jar shaped bottle-gourd because it is much lighter and less fragile than the earthen pot.

Baskets of varying sizes and shapes are made by a class of Soras known as *Kindal Soras*. Of the tools and weapons, the iron things are made by another class of Soras, known as *Luara Soras*

and the brass and bronze things are made by another class of Soras known as *Gontora Soras*. The raw metals are purchased from the merchants of the plains. As the things made by the Soras are rude and ill-shaped, they are now going out of use and finer things made abroad are getting into the Sora country. Some Soras have recently learnt to melt the silver coins and make small ornaments of silver such as earrings and nose rings. The Soras generally make their musical instruments—percussive such as tom tom, drum and wooden symbols, stringed such as those that resemble the violin and guitar and wind instruments like the flute and clarinet. The material used for making these instruments consists of bamboo, bottle-gourd, wood, reed, tanned leather of the iguana, goat, cattle, monkey and buffalo. The twisted fibre of the liquor tree (*caryota ureus*) is used for the strings of the stringed instruments. Some of these are replaced by wires which they can now easily get from the plains.

Clothing

The Soras are not generally much worried about clothing. Their ancestors wore just a loin cincture of Bilva or turmeric leaves. Coarse cotton cloth woven by the Paidis or Dombs came into use with the advent of these people probably a hundred years ago. The women wear a skirt (*loin cloth*) which is about two feet broad and four feet long and the men, a cloth five inches wide and about six feet long—just to cover the private parts and pass twice round the waist. A large sheet of cloth is carried on the shoulder by all persons to cover the body not out of any sense of decency but as a protection against cold winds. The turban which well-to-do men wear consists of three or four pieces; the inner pieces which go round the tuft of hair in a conical shape are mere rags; the outermost piece which covers the inner pieces and shows out, either red or yellow in colour.

Food.

Nor are the Soras much worried about their food. They have for their food, the produce they raise by their agricultural pursuits, the meat they get by hunting, the several kinds of vegetables which they can easily grow, and various kinds of edible tubers which they can have for the mere digging. They are therefore, never in want and, begging is very rarely resorted to by a few disabled persons only. Salt and chilli are the only things among their daily needs which they have to purchase from the markets in

the plains. They sell, fuel and hill produce and purchase salt and chilli frequently and articles of luxury like the mirror, beads and finer cloth occasionally. Bartering has been recently replaced by money economy with the influx of coins from the plains.

Most of the Soras possess hill slops where they raise cereals and light crops and many have paddy fields. The landless Soras earn their livelihood by hunting, cutting fuel, digging tubers and gathering edible leaves and fruit. The destitute Soras serve for daily wages their rich brethren by tending their cattle, watching their crops and helping them in their agricultural occupations. Fuel, honey, ginger, turmeric, oranges, tamarind, leaves for leaf platters, broomsticks and such other things find market in the plains. The tools required for agricultural operations are all made by the Soras themselves.

Their religion is, unfortunately, the curse of the Soras. In order to propitiate the evil spirits that are believed to cause disease and on festive occasions, they have to sacrifice a buffalo or a pig or a fowl to obtain which they have to borrow money from the Oriya Pano (or Domb) money leader who extracts every year half as much as he lends by way of interest and keeps on the debt unabated as before. The new settlers have been, since the opening of the Agency tracts, exploiting the Soras in several ways.

The mythology folk-lore, songs and poetic fancies and conventions, riddles and proverbs of the Soras are all based on the physical features of their picturesque land, on the animals, birds and trees that which come across in their daily pursuits and on their surroundings and environment.

General Somatic appearance.

The Soras have unmistakable Mongoloid features which are most prominent in the case of the Soras of the still untouched interior of the country; the Mongolo-Dravidian features increase as they come in contact with the Dravidian Khonds and the Telugus. The Melenoid element is noticeable in the case of some Soras but there is absolutely no Negrito element anywhere in the Sora country. The presence of the Mongoloid element in the features of some people living to the south of the Sora country is due to the existence of the Soras in the northern part of the present Vizagapatam district as can be seen from an event of about 720 A.D. referred to in the Korni copper plate grant of Anantavarma Choda Ganga of

about 1113 A. D. mentioned above. Many Soras of this locality must have been in course of time, absorbed among the Dravidian people.

Characteristic features.

Their habitat and environment had such an indelible effect on them that they have developed characteristic traits peculiar to hill men. They are hardy, sinewy and capable of working with indefatigable energy. Love for their country, for their walks of life, for their ideas and culture and a strong suspicion of strangers and new things have been so strongly ingrained in them that they rarely think of even experimenting new methods of agriculture or new walks of life. With the opening of the Agency tracts and contact with strangers and their civilization in recent years, there has been some perceptible change in the life of some Soras—particularly those that have come into closer touch with the Christian missionaries and officers that have been visiting their country and staying in their midst. When new buildings are constructed, the Soras who are employed to do unskilled work, observe the work of the carpenters, masons and other skilled labourers and evince interest in skilled labour. I have come across a few Soras who have learnt the use of the modern carpentry tools and are capable of making fine cots and beautiful doors. I am sure that if they are given the necessary training the Soras will prove to be good weavers, agriculturists, horticulturists, smiths, masons and carpenters.

Just two instances may suffice to show how in the matter of five arts also, the Soras can turn their undeveloped skill to advantage, when they have opportunities to learn better models. A Sora lad of about fourteen years of age stabbed to death his paternal uncle who had deprived him of his ancestral property and beaten him when asked to account for it; and immediately ran to the Police out-post near his village and gave an account of his offence. He was consequently sent to the Borstal Reformatory School at Chengleput where he stayed for about two years. He was, by nature, a very good lad and would not have committed that offence but for the sudden provocation he had. Before he was sent to this school, he had learnt to speak besides Sora, his mother tongue, Oriya and after he joined the school he learnt to read and write Telugu and coming into contact with the Telugu and Tamil boys in the school learnt to speak both the languages fairly well. In his childhood he learnt to sing Sora songs and as age advanced composed some Sora songs, and when he heard new tunes in Telugu and

Tamil he evinced a desire to adopt them. After he was released he came back to his village and recently became a Christian. He is now an important member of the Sora Church at Serango in the Sora country; he leads the chorus at the Sunday service and every week he comes with a new Sora song of his composition. Of the songs, some are based on Telugu tunes and some on English tunes.

There is another Sora youth who has developed his skill in modelling and painting. As a young boy, he evinced interest in copying the floral and other designs and the rude drawings and pictures of animals and birds on the walls of the Sora huts and clay modelling in an elementary school. He exhibited an adventurous spirit in his fifteenth year. He had opportunities of travelling by train when he accompanied his father, a Sora interpreter employed in Government service, to Berhampore and Chatrapur from Parlakimidi. One day, he went to Vizagapatam without informing his parents and chanced to meet an artist and photographer there. When he showed his rough and crude drawings, the artist was so mightily pleased and convinced that the boy deserved encouragement that he entertained him as an apprentice in his studio. The boy made good progress in modelling and painting and a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi drawn by him was given a place at the main entrance to a theatre at Vizagapatam in 1934, when a session of the Andhra Mahāsabha was held there.

The opening of the Sora country.

The Sora country had been, till recently, quite inaccessible to the men of the plains on account of its steep hills and thick jungles, ferocious wild animals and dreadful malaria. The British had to clear forests and send military expeditions to the Sora country in order to bring it under their rule and before the land was handed over to the civil administration, it was found necessary to subdue the wild tribe by a strong military government. "With all their present quietude" writes Mr. W. F. Grahame I. C. S. in his report for 1875, "Saurahs have been savage enough at times and they are perhaps the lowest savage tribe with whom I have ever come in contact not excepting the Cabocles and Botacudos of the Brazils whom I have seen in their native forests". The Savageness of the Soras is still noticeable in the interior of the country. Even as late as 1927, Baron Von Eickstedt (of the Ethnographic Expedition sent by the State Research Institute, Leipzig) who visited the country and stayed for a few months, was confronted with a threatening attitude by some Soras in an interior village, and he had to leave

the village immediately with his party. In a humorous vein, he writes "we had betaken ourselves to a strategic back march". The Missionary preachers and medical men have met with better results with their humanitarian methods. Ability to converse with them in their language enables one, as it has done me, to gain their confidence and until their confidence is gained, neither government nor private effort can meet with any success in the matter of developing the resources of the country or the people.

Conquest of malaria seems to be the first task of the humanitarian. The Spleen index is very high among the Soras and no stranger has ever stayed in the country for a couple of months with immunity from malaria. But it is quite possible to conquer the disease as it has been at Panama. The residential quarters of officers and the Missionary staff are now well protected by mosquito wire netting. The hospitals are provided with large supplies of quinine for free distribution among the people. What has been done is, indeed, very little but it has paved the way for further improvement.

The Sora country has a bright future before it. It has several resources which, when developed, will make it very rich. The soil is fertile and the hill produce can be increased and with improved communications and facilities of transport, it can find a good market in the plains. There is ample scope for vast improvements in agriculture and horticulture. The Soil seems to be very suitable for the growth of some fruit bearing trees like the lemon, orange, papaw and pine apple which have been planted in recent years. There is a wild growth of goose berry, rasp berry and straw berry. The rose plant of recent import grows wild to a height of about ten feet when it is left to itself and the flowers which have only a few petals develop into fruit. The cultured plant grows luxuriantly and bears large and beautiful flowers. There are a hundred and one varieties of wild fragrant flowers, native to the soil. Beautiful ferns peculiar to the hilly tracts are seen everywhere. There are, almost all over the Sora country, plenty of honey combs hanging from the branches of the jungle trees and bee keeping industry can easily thrive well here. There is also ample scope for the rearing of silk worms because there are, everywhere, plenty of mulberry trees. The Indian date which grows wild in this country and is at present profusely used for liquor can be put to a better and commercially advantageous use if the Soras are taught to make sugar from it. The Government have many reserved forests; they

are now young but in course of time, they can supply plenty of timber, the most important of the timber trees being Sāl and Ebony. I hear that there are some mineral resources also such as mica and manganese. I have, myself, seen some flakes of mica on the bare ground at several places in the country. There are a good many water falls and hill streams almost all over the Sora country that can contribute to the generation of hydroelectric power.

With such resources that admit of extensive and profitable development, the Sora country which is, at present, thickly populated, has the latent capacity to attract people from the over crowded towns in the plains.

A study of the village names is very interesting as it gives, to some extent, an insight into the nature of the people and their country.

The names of the villages may be classified according to the Sora words relating to spirits, hills, rivers, animals, birds and plants and trees as in Mannēbā (in the vicinity of a class of spirits considered by the Soras to be very obliging), Baḍlong (hill), Sindibur (a hill containing the Indian date), Almoidā (the place of a river); Pādḍel (a stream with banks well formed), Bongtōldā (the place of buffaloes), Kansimlā (the place of the domesticated fowl), Tiltising (houses near tamarind trees), and Gangān (millet-panicum). They may also be classified according to the following suffixes added to words relating to the objects mentioned above:—

—bā (at, in the vicinity of) as in Mannēbā (explained above), Lakkibā (at the sands), Luḍḍi (in the vicinity of the fig trees);

—ḍā (the place) as in S.ḍā (the place of bubbling water), Long ḍā (the interior place), Lakkḍi (the Sandy place), Kintōḍā (the place of the plantain trees), Kansmḍi (the place of the domesticated fowl);

—jāng (hard ground) as in Ḍarakejāng (the hard ground fit for habitation), Gorjāng (hard ground, pierced by tracks—hence a village), Ebbājāng (the thorny hard ground)

—k, contracted form of labōn (earth) as in Jongjong to (evenly distributed earth), Tumtō (• heaped earth);

—bur (hill) as in Pādibur (the wall like hill), Sindibur (a hill with many Indian date trees);

—jūl (= stream as in Padijūl (explained above), Alājūl (= rivulet);

—sing (= house) as in Baḍongsing (= houses on a hill), Abāsing (= houses with mohwa trees all round). Tarmāsing (= houses amidst ant hills), Joḍa sing (= houses near a stream);

—tāl, contracted from of tadān (= tank) as in Sarātāl (= tank with reeds on the bunds), Burtāl (= tank on a hill);

—ling (= amidst, in the interior of) as in Arsī-ling (= amidst monkeys), Sindiling (= in the interior of the Indian date grone);

—munḍā (= head?) as in Tālmunḍā (= at the head of the tank), Bālmunḍā (= the gun head);

—jēng (= leg) as in Tatā jēng (= a large stone with a level surface looking like the foot);

—dia (= waist or middle portion) as in Lakkidia (= with the sandy soil in the middle).

There are some villages names without any suffix such as were mentioned above:—

Arbūn (= armadillo). In the village known by this name, the rows of the houses are one above the other as the ground is on the slop of a hill. The village is so named because the houses are like the scales of an armadillo.

Piḍagalla (= bricks). This village is so called because it was built near a brick kiln.

Sarsānga (= Bryonia coloso) named after the creeper which grew wild at the village.

Garrōr-gōr-ḍob (= penetrating-flood-dam), named after a dam built to divert the waters of a hill stream passing by the side of the village. Final consonants are not well pronounced in Sora; they are not, therefore, audible to strangers. The Oriyas who live in the village pronounce the name as Garogoḍa, leaving out final consonants and converting *a* to *o* in accordance with their speech habits.

Some placenames are based on mythology:—

Mannēbā (explained above). The Sora tradition says that these spirits are very “mannēdam” (= obedient); if any man says ‘eat’ they readily respond and eat.

Gunlujāng (= snail shells) Varying accounts are given by the Soras to account for this name. some say that snail shells were found everywhere at the village. Some say that the small stones

found there, resemble snail shells. Some others who are fond of mythological explanations say that it was named after Gunlupedan (conch trumpet) which the deities of the olden days sounded.

Arattenkad (entangled wristlet) is the name of a spring of water. To account for the name, it is said that the spring comes out of a rock through a hole; once there was a crab in the hole and a woman in order to catch it inserted her hand and when she pulled it back, the wristlet got entangled in the hole.

Sarēd kuḍan (the place where twigs are heaped) is the name of a very steep hill. It is very difficult and tiresome to ascend it. The Soras believe that there is a spirit on the hill and if it is appeased they will be relieved of the fatigue. In order to appease it, those that ascend the hill break small twigs from the trees on the way, brush their feet with them and throw them into a heap and addressing the spirit say "Look here, we have repaid what we owe you."

Tarum-sun (the place where pillars are kept together) In order to build a house some gods brought and stored some pillars which were transformed into stones at cock crow. The gods went away leaving them there.

Orḍaman (ploughed). Some gods had been ploughing a piece of land and when at day break the cock crowed, they left the land and went away. The land was transformed into a rocky bed and from a distance it looks like a ploughed land.

Kaḍibaran (sword-stone) is the name of a stone that looks like a sword. Once upon a time, some gods entered a forest and set one of their swords against a raised ground. When the cock crowed, it was time for them to go away: so they went away leaving the sword there and it was converted salsequally into a stone.

Sang sang-aram (turmeric rock) is the name of a rock which being yellow in colour, looks like hardened turmeric paste. Some gods, in the past, had been grinding turmeric on a rock and as soon as it was day-break, went away leaving behind them, the turmeric paste which was subsequently transformed into a rock. It has stood there without being wasted away by the rains.

Jumtūng bur (eat-cattle-hill) is the name of a large bed of rock. Some gods of the olden days brought an ox to this place, killed it and cut it to pieces but before they could eat the flesh, the cock had crowed at the day break. The gods, therefore, left

their food as it was and went away. The flesh, the tail and the head were transformed into a stone.

Onol-tāl (= mortar-flesh) is the name of a flat stone with a depression that resembles a mortar. The belief among the Soras is that it was the place where the gods of the bygone days pounded human bones and ate the powder.

Some of the village names of the plains in the Parlakimedi taluk can be traced from the original Sora names. *Alḍub* (= break-waist) signifies that an agreement was arrived at by breaking a broom stick in the middle. *Alḍub* is now pronounced by the Telugus as Aldu. There are several villages in the present home of the Sora country known by the name of Alḍub. Ualing (father deity) is now pronounced as Avalingl. Sōḍā (stinky place) has become Sōda in Telugu. Ōntarbā (baby flowers) is now pronounced as Antaraba by the Telugus.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN CIRCARS

Chapter III

(Continued from p. 8 of Vol. XII, Pt. I)

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

The following table illustrates the position of the Ichchapuram *haveli* lands at the end of the settlement for 1768—69:

THE ICHCHAPURAM HAVELI LANDS
(1768—69)

From whom acquired.	No. of villages	Value in Rs.
<i>Hautgur</i>		
Pubbakonḍa <i>pargana</i>	10	4,946
Aska ..	3	2,700
<i>Mohiri</i>		
Pubbakonḍa ..	13	8,758
<i>Dasanna Pandit</i> ¹		
Pubbakonḍa ..	1	900
<i>Hautmaram</i>		
Pubbakonḍa ..	1	578
Mansurkōta ..	1	80
<i>Dharakota</i>		
Aska ..	12	1,650
<i>Ghumsur</i>		
Aska ..	8½	3,535
Pubbakonḍa ..	3	5,316
Total	52½	28,463

Thus the northernmost zamindaries, Ghumsur and Hautgur, surrendered the most valuable tracts, and the Pubbakonḍa *pargana* seems to have been a common field for spoilation by the various zamindaries.

It is here necessary to sum up the results of the revenue settlement for 1768—69.²

1 It is doubtful whether he is the same as Gode Ramadas referred to above. There is a possibility that these two names are aliases in Telugu.

2 I compiled this statement from the details supplied in *Milit. Cons.* 30 September, 1768, Vol. 62, p. 1,196 and the *Madras Letters Received*, 1 November 1768. (Further letter) (Bourchier) para 52, Vol. IV.

SETTLEMENT OF THE CHICACOLE SARKAR (1768—69).

District or Zamindari.	Renter or Zamindar.	Revenue in Rs.
Vijayanagaram and Vurtla	Sitarama Razu	3,24,059
Satyavaram	Payaka Rao	75,000
Kasimkota, Jalmur, Chicacole and Naupada Salt leases by Masulipatam	Akkaji	2,00,000
Ichchapuram <i>harāli</i> leased by Cotsford	do.	85,000
Tekkali	Restored to its Raja.	30,000
Individual settlements with the nine zamindars of the Ichchapuram <i>pargana</i> conducted by Cotsford	Various Rajas	2,28,807
Total <i>jamabandi</i>		Rs. 9,42,866

It will be remembered that this settlement was incomplete. Cotsford had still to settle with the ten remaining zamindars of the Ichchapuram *pargana*, whose aggregate *jamabandi* would obviously have considerably raised the amount of the gross revenues. Even apart from this, this settlement was decidedly advantageous to the Company as compared with that for 1767, with a nominal rental of eight lakhs of rupees, or that for 1767—68 with a greatly reduced total of five and a half lakhs of rupees.³

In 1769 Narayana Deo once again commenced his depredations, taking into possession of Kimidi and driving out Rama Jogi Patro, who had been recently appointed by the Madras Government to manage the *Chicacole* zamindar.⁴ A period of general nervousness among the zamindars had set in and even Sitarama Razu, whose loyalty to the Company during the disturbances of the previous year had evoked the reconstruction of the Government, was very backward in his payments.⁵ The Madras Government directed Masulipatam "to forbear proceeding to extremities" with him but only to press for the discharge of his *kists*, and retain possession of the *kaul* for the *jāgir* granted to him during the previous settlement until his

³ I had to refer the year 1757 as a calendar year and not a *fusti* year like 1757—68, since two unsuccessful settlements were carried through during that year.

⁴ *Masulipatan to Madras*, 6 January 1769, No. 45. *Milit. Cons.*, 12 January, Vol. 65, pp. 19—20.

⁵ *Same to Same*, 29 March, No. 242. *idem.* 11 April, *idem.* p. 268.

accounts with the Company had been squared up.⁶ Even this lenient policy had no effect upon Sitarama Razu. He is believed to be in league with Ganni Sambhaji, the Maratha *fouzdar* of Cuttack. Further he coerced the raja of Salur, a tributary to Vijayanagaram, as was alleged to give passage to the Marathas to enter the Sarkar of Chicacole, but the Madras Government acquiesced in this as a matter purely within the rights of Sitarama Razu.⁷ Madras actually considered this allegation as groundless and directed that he should be "no longer withheld from taking such measures with regard to Vickram Deo or any other zamindar dependent on him as he may judge necessary."⁸ They even went to the extent of strengthening his power, the precipitate reduction of which a few years before had resulted in insecurity and unrest. On this they wrote home that they believed the best way of keeping the hill-rajahs in obedience was to increase his power over them. "Upon this idea some favor had been shown him in settling his *Jammabundy* for the present year.....(But) we dare not recommend this as a system".⁹

While the conditions in the Sarkar were still in this unsatisfactory state, the settlement of the *jammabandi* had been carried through. The Madras government originally directed a triennial lease so that "the renters may be encouraged to improve the lands and that it may be more worth their while to offer an adequate rent".¹⁰ But since "the offers received in consequence fell short of our expectations", they once again reverted to the annual lease of the Sarkar with its attendant evils and hazardous rents.¹¹

The following statement, culled from the *Madras Letters Received*, however meagre it is, shows the results of the revenue settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar for the year 1769—70.¹²

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Cotsford to Madras*, 24 March, No. 254. *Milit. Cons.*, 17 April, Vol. 65, p. 269. See also *Masulipatan to Madras*, 10 April, No. 260. *idem.* 17 April, *idem.* p. 270.

8 *Milit. Cons.*, 15 May 1769. *idem.* pp. 303—04.

9 *Madras Letters received*, 16 September (Bourchier) para 7, Vol. IV.

10 *Pub. Cons.*, 9 June, Vol. 28, pp. 367—73. See also *Masulipatan to Madras*, 10 and 15 June, Nos. 97 and 100. *idem.* 23 June, *idem.* p. 380.

11 *Madras Letters received*, *op. cit.* para 16.

12 *Ibid.* No information other than the barest details of the statement is available in the records.

SETTLEMENT OF 1769—1770.

(In Rupees.)

Sitaramarazu.	2,90,000
Akkaji	2,10,000
Payaka Rao	65,000
Kimidi.	50,000
Tekkali.	30,000
Ichchapuram zamindars and the <i>haveli</i> as settled by a Cotsford.	4,10,000

Total. Rs. 10,55,000

The important features of this settlement are as follows. The total revenues of the Sarkar though they show an increase of more than a lakh of rupees over those of the preceding year do not constitute a heavier rental than before. It will be remembered that during 1768—69, Cotsford brought under the control of the Company only nine out of the nineteen zamindars of the Ichchapuram *pargana*. This increase therefore, is apparently accounted for by the remaining zamindars. But no exact details are available to substantiate this suggestion. On the other hand, there is positive evidence to show that the *jamabandi* was liberal when compared with that of the previous year. Thus, in accordance with the policy of the Madras government, Sitarama Razu's tribute was reduced by more than Rs. 34,000 a year. Likewise, Payaka Rao's tribute shows a reduction of Rs. 10,000. The only visible enhancement of the rental in this settlement seems to be that of Akkaji which shows an increase of Rs. 10,000. On the whole, the settlement must be pronounced to have been liberal when compared with those for the previous years.

But notwithstanding the liberality of this settlement, most of the zamindars were reluctant to perform their obligations to the Company and gradually drifted into arrears by not paying the periodical *kists*. The Madras Government were consequently compelled to take stern measures to secure the Company's revenues. They ordered the Bengal detachment, which had evacuated Chicacole and moved to Bezvada as soon as the settlement for 1768—69, has been concluded, once again to march into Ganjam. An additional Madras detachment was also detailed to assist Cotsford in reducing Narayana Deo, the raja of Chikati, the rajas of the Mahendra Malai and others.¹³

13 *Milit. Cons.* 24 July, 1769. Vol. 65, pp. 368—69.

The initial attempts to reduce Narayana Deo were not successful.¹⁴ But on the other hand Chikati was stormed and captured without much difficulty.¹⁵ Notwithstanding this, the raja remained at large and so no *jamabandi* could be settled for his zamindari. Baffled at the manner in which a vanquished zamindar could still deprive the Company of their revenues, by refusing to settle for the lands and by preventing any person from offering to rent them, the Madras Government resolved that they could see no other measure "so proper for producing the desired end as the extirpating all such Zemindars as shall once oblige as to take up arms against them and with placing other Zamindars in their stead or converting their Zamindar(ies) into Havelly lands.....This is the plan we would always wish to pursue."¹⁶

Even though Narayana Deo had been reduced to very great straits, the Madras Government were fully intent on effectually reducing him by first causing defections among his adherents and then effectively chastising him, thus ridding the Sarkar of any future menace.¹⁷ Thus, Gomam Isi and Rayagudi Isi, two hill-chiefs dependent on Narayana Deo, were captured by Rama Jogi Patro, reconciled to the Government and settled with for their *jamabandi*.¹⁸ Again, Linga Bhūpati, raja of Madagallu, who had, openly assisted Narayana Deo, was likewise crushed by the combined forces of Sitarama Razu and the Company.¹⁹ Thus, the fears

14 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 29 August, No. 410. *Milit. Cons.*, 4 September, Vol. 66, pp. 415—17. See also *Madras Letters Received*, 31 January 1770. (further letter) (Bouchier) paras 27—32, Vol. IV.

15 *Cotsford to Madras*, 23 September, No. 449. *idem.*, 9 October, Vol. 66, pp. 460—61.

16 *Ibid.* See also resolution of the Madras Government in *Milit. Cons.* 23 October, *idem.* pp. 466—67.

This resolution was in accordance with the directions contained in para. 28 of the dispatch of the Court of Directors of 17 March 1769, which in all probability the Madras government had time enough to receive before they reviewed the zamindari position.

The Court wrote "It should be a constant rule with you whenever any of the zemindars oblige you to send troops against them, either to make them pay all arrears and charges, or entirely dispossess them of their country". *Madras Dispatches* Vol. IV. pp. 622—23.

17 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 26, 27 and 28 October 1769, Nos. 463, 464 and 465. *Milit. Cons.* 13 November Vol. 66, pp. 539—40.

18 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 20 May 1770, No. 112, *idem.* 4 June Vol. 67, pp. 151—52; see also, *same to same*, 11 July No. 136, *idem.* 30 July, *idem.* pp. 229—30.

19 *same to same*, 5 August No. 150, *idem.* 20 August, *idem.* pp. 285—86. This raised the question of Sitarama Razu's right to Madagallu. See *Wynch to Madras*, Rajahmundry, 7 February 771 *idem.* 13. February Vo. 69, pp. 71—73. Madras directed an enquiry into this by the chief of Vizagapatam. See *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 20 February, *idem.* pp. 84—85.

from Narayana Deo were greatly mitigated if not totally removed.

These repressive measures had a good effect upon the zamindars in general. Ghumsur, Hautgur, Serugada and Dharakota not only supplied *sahukar* security for their balances for 1768 and 1769, but also agreed to pay an enhanced tribute for the current year.²⁰ But there was a considerable amount of misunderstanding about Rama Jogi Patro's administration of the Kimidi zamindari while he and the chief of Vizagapatam proceeded under the impression that he was the renter of the zamindari, the Madras Government contended that they had definitely appointed him as "temporary manager or aumaldar" for the collection of the revenues therefrom. Hence, there was great confusion regarding the balances and tribute due from Kimidi for the years 1768—70.²¹

Sitarama Razu completely discharged his *kists* for 1769-70, with the exception of Rs. 5,000 which he claimed as the rent of the Kotipalli *pargana*, in the East Godavari District, originally belonging to the Pusapatis but not included in the *jagir* granted to him by the Madras government. The Madras government demanded payment of the balance, but the result is not recorded.²²

By June 1770, Cotsford made rapid progress with respect to the realisation of the balance due from Kallikota, Vijayanagar (Pedda Kimidi), Dharakota, Mandasa and Mohiri. The Madras government were entirely satisfied with his administration and gave him complete discretion in his dealings with the zamindars.²³

The Tekkali zamindari was the subject of a series of correspondence between the Madras government and the subordinate settlements. As has already been shown, this zamindari had been liberated from the control of Narayana Deo of Kimidi, and restored to its lawful raja at an enhanced tribute. The Madras government supported coercion on the part of Captain Madge who was concerned with the reduction of Kimidi and Tekkali and with the settlement of the latter. On this they resolved that the customary tribute of Rs. 20,000, a year (which had been raised to Rs. 30,000) could "be no guide in ascertaining the tribute now to be demanded as the

²⁰ *Cotsford to Madras*, 26 January 1770. No. 31. *Pubs. Cons.* 13 February. Vol. 28. p. 74.

²¹ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 13 January 1770. No. 23. *Pub. Cons.* 26 January Vol. 29. pp. 70 and 75.

²² *Masulipatam to Madras*, 15 April No. 82. *idem* 24 April, *idem*. pp. 351—52.

²³ *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam 27 May No. 121 *idem* 13 June, and resolution thereon. *idem*. p. 575.

Zamindary may have been improved or impoverished since.....and such a tribute must depend on the present value of the country".²⁴ On the representation of John Andrews, chief of Vizagapatam, that the raja had been unfairly treated and had no visible means of paying off his balances, the Madras government revoked their former orders and set him at liberty.²⁵

Akkaji's rent of the Chicacole *haveli* lands was a failure and a loss to the Company. The country had been very badly managed and generally oppressed. The Madras government explored the means of putting the country and the revenue on an improved basis. They were "willing to keep the Havelly lands in our hands for the ensuing year as the only method of ascertaining their mean value". To do this they were willing to appoint two European assistants to John Andrews, chief of Vizagapatam, provided the latter thought it best and was willing to undertake the direct management of the farms.²⁶ But Andrews' timidity and want of knowledge of the *haveli* lands which had only been recently created, induced them to defer the proposed innovation for future consideration.²⁷ On the other hand, the period of lease extended from one to three years and Akkaji superseded by Abdulla Rahman Beg. ²⁸ This triennial lease was the first of a long series of experiments with individual farms which finally led to the permanent settlement of the Sarkars.

Triennial leases were also instituted with respect to the zamindari lands in the Sarkar. Thus, Sitarama Razu, who had been punctual in his payment of the *kists* for the previous year, was settled for the tribute of his zamindari at the same sum as that for the previous year since such an indulgence "would secure to us the revenue in case of troubles and insure his attachment". But with respect to the Wuratla pargana the rent was raised from 40,000 to 50,000 rupees a year. Payaka Rao and the raja of Tekkali were settled with at the previous rate of Rs. 65,000 and 30,000 respectively.²⁹

²⁴ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 22 June 1770. No. 128 *Pub. Cons.* 29 June, Vol. 29. pp. 612—13. See also *same to same*, 3 July, No. 135. *idem* 13 July, *idem*. pp. 651—52.

²⁵ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 10 July No. 146 *idem* 31 July, *idem*. p. 726.

²⁶ *Pub. Cons.* 13 July 1770. *idem*. pp. 656—57.

²⁷ *Pub. Cons.* 17 August Vol. 29, p. 758.

²⁸ *Ibid.* The rent was fixed at Rs. 1,80,000, Rs. 1,90,000, and Rs. 2,00,000 respectively for the three years.

²⁹ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, undated *idem*. 29 August *idem*. pp. 805—07 and enclosures, pp. 807-09

Towards the end of 1770, Narayana Deo died, and with his death one of the most serious menaces to the tranquility of the Chicacole Sarkar was removed.³⁰ His widow and minor son invoked the aid of Sitarama Razu with the hope of securing reinstatement by the Madras government. The Du Pre government was only too willing to accommodate matters and conducted a settlement to the following effect:

THE KIMIDI ZAMINDARI.

Estimated produce of the Kimidi zamindari. ...	Rs. 2,00,000.
Estimated expenditure on the 2,000 <i>sibbandi</i> recognised as necessary to maintain the status of the raja and the peace of the country.	Rs. 48,000.
Allowance for the <i>Brahmani</i> villages.	18,000.
Salaries of <i>vakils</i> and conicopies.	6,000.
The raja's revenue.	62,000.
Total expenditure.	1,34,000
Net produce of the zamindari due to the Company.	Rs. 66,000.

This settlement, which was made with considerable difficulty shows that the shares of the raja and the Company were more or less equal, each constituting a third of the gross produce of the zamindari.³¹ Sitarama Razu was accepted as security for the payment of this tribute, and with this began the revival of the Vijayanagaram ascendancy.

Another instance in which the power of Sitarama Razu was suffered to increase was that of the Anakapalli-Satyavaram zamindari owned by Payaka Rao. Sitarama Razu was allowed to stand security for Payaka Rao, who had already owed him a sum of Rs. 3,00,000. This transaction had its immediate effect upon the strength of Sitarama Razu. Within the space of five months after this settlement, we find Payaka Rao executing a transfer deed according to which he made over to the Pusapatis certain revenues,

See also *same to same*, 25, 27 and 28 September, Nos. 18, 189, 190, 191 and 192, *idem*. 10 October, *idem*. pp. 911—13.

³⁰ *Pub. Cons.* 10 October, 1770. Vol. 29, p. 913.

³¹ *Vizayapatam to Madras*, 10, 14 and 16 January 1771, Nos. 17, 18 and 20. *idem*. 25 January Vol. 31. pp. 25—28.

See also *same to same*, 12 March No. 67 *idem*. 29 March *idem*. p. 142.

lands, forts and mines belonging to the Anakapalli-Satyavaram zamindari in part payment of the debt.³² Later on the zamindari was actually incorporated into the family properties of Vijayanagar. The effects of these transactions obviously had been the heightening of the power and prestige of Sitarama Razu. The Madras government could only acquiesce in this augmentation of Sitharama Razu's authority. Even though they recognised the fact that the rental of the Country dependent on the Vizagapatam chiefship, especially the tribute of Sitarama Razu, was admittedly low, and that "by the exertion of military power a much larger revenue ought to be obtained", they thought it best not to provoke Sitarama Razu's distrust and enmity.³³

Contrasted with this indulgence shown by the Madras government, another set of facts throw further light upon the position of Sitarama Razu. For one thing, Sitarama Razu obeyed the Madras government in considerably reducing the *sibbandi* his family had traditionally maintained.³⁴ But the real danger to the security of the Sarkar lay in the weakening of his power. As John Andrews, who had over twelve years experience in the Sarkars, wrote to Madras. "The hill zamindars.....will not readily pay their tribute unless they knew there is a force at hand to compel them. For this, Sitteramrauze will always be desirous of having three or four Companies of Seapoys with him when he goes to collect his rent, not so much for any reason (or) occasion he may have for them, as to let the people see he lives in friendship with the Company and will be supported by them". He then recommended to the government that Sitarama Razu ought to be allowed a sufficient number of troops which would not in any way add to the expenditure of the Company, but secure the peace of the country. The Du Pre government were altogether silent about this proposal, but ordered him to offer every possible assistance to Sitarama Razu.³⁵

While the *haveli* lands and the Vijayanagar tribute were being settled for 1770—73, Cotsford was engaged in the annual settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar. He settled with the raja of Chikati for 1770 and procured *sahukar* security from him to the

32 *Pub. Cons.* 17 April 1771. Vol. 33. p. 22. For this transfer deed see Appendix "E" to this thesis.

33 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 4 and 6 November 1770. Nos. 213 and 25. *Pub. Cons.* 23 November, Vol. 29. pp. 974—79.

34 No details about this reduction of the *sibbandi* are available.

35 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 26 June, 1771. *Milit. Cons.* 8 July, Vol. 69. pp. 496-97.

extent of Rs. 1,07,003.³⁶ The rajas of Dharakota, Humma and Serugada were likewise dealt with.³⁷ Ghumsur and Hautgur (Atagada?) quickly followed. But Kallikota *Ichchapuram* created a considerable amount of trouble owing to the dissensions between the zamindar *pargana:* Murdha Raja and his brother Man Singh. *division of the* Apart from the current tribute, a balance of *revenue affairs* Rs. 75,000 was outstanding against the raja.

Man Sing had usurped the real power from the lawful raja and mismanaged the revenue affairs for a period of ten years. At one time the zamindari stood the risk of being sequestered and converted into government's *haveli*.³⁸ But the lenient policy of the Madras Government averted any such extraordinary event.³⁹ Instead, they reduced the power of Man Singh. With Man Sing's submission the tribute for the current year, the previous balances accruing from his mal-administration and the future peace of Kallikota was secured.⁴⁰

The reduction of Kallikota and the subsequent leniency of the Madras government had a salutary effect on the administration of the *pargana*. As Cotsford wrote to the Madras government in a mood of self-gratification, they showed the rajas "that it is contrary to our maxims of government to oppress any of them, and equally an object of our attention to prevent oppression in others living under the English government".⁴¹ But even then Gulgunda only submitted at the point of the sword. The tribute of this zamindari which had never been paid during the past seventy years and had been only nominally rated at Rs. 3,000 since 1730 when Anwar-ud Din Khan managed the Chicacole Sarkar, was raised and settled at Rs. 5,000 a year".⁴² Mohiri and Ghumsur,⁴³ Bodogoda,⁴⁴ Tarla, Serugada and Humma⁴⁵ were likewise successively settled with in an easy manner.

36 *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam 25 November 1770. No. 225 *Pub. Cons.* 20 December, Vol. 29. p. 1,005.

37 *Same to same*, 3 February 1771, No. 35. *idem*, 21 February Vol. 31. pp. 75-76.

38 *Same to same*, 3 March 1771. *Milit. Cons.* 1 April, Vol. 69. pp. 191-94.

39 *Madras to Cotsford*. 3 April *idem*. pp. 199-200.

40 *Cotsford to Madras*, 10 May, *idem*. 10 June, *idem*, pp. 416-19. See also *same to same*. 7 July *idem* 29 July, Vol. 70. pp. 517-20.

41 *Cotsford to Madras*. 10 May, *Milit. Cons.* 10 June, Vol. 69. pp. 416-19.

42 *Vizagapatam to Madras*. 11 June 1771 *Milit. Cons.* 21 June *idem*. pp. 443-44

43 *Cotsford to Madras* 28 April, No. 109. *Pub. Cons.* 21 May, Vol. 31. p. 313.

44 *Same to same*. 24 July, No. 151. *idem* 16 August, Vol. 32. p. 552.

45 *Same to same*. 28 November, No. 230. *idem* 20 December, *idem* p. 882.

The progressive increase in the balance due from the renter of the vast Ichchapuram *haveli* lands induced Cotsford to split them into eight divisions as follows: Ganjam, Sonapura, Pubbakonda, Aska, Mansurkota, Mantridi, Ichchapuram and Baruva. The Sea and river customs formed a ninth division of the revenue business of the *haveli* part of the Ichchapuram *pargana*.⁴⁶ The Madras government readily approved of these divisions not only because they assisted thoroughness in administration, but also because it was "impossible for one man to be responsible for the rents of the whole if left under his own immediate management"⁴⁷. Notwithstanding this decision to lease out the *haveli* piecemeal, the offers of Rs. 1,50,000 by Syama Sundara Chaudhari for the whole of the *haveli*, and of Rs. 20,000 by Jaggabandu Chaudhari for the land and river customs were accepted for the year 1771—1772.⁴⁸

But Cotsford's settlement again ended in failure. It must be admitted that he was able to assert the paramountcy of the Company though not without considerable expenditure of men and money. But his successes were short lived. The deep-seated ideas of the several zamindars to regard themselves as semi-independent

*Failure of Cotsford's settlement
1771-1772.*

compelled the Madras government always to be on the alert and ready to send punitive expeditions. These expeditions were invariably successful, but when once the troops were withdrawn from a troublesome area after

what was ostensibly a settlement of revenue affairs, fresh troubles arose almost immediately. This state of affairs resulted in an atmosphere of restlessness and insecurity on the part of the wretched cultivators and loss of revenue on the part of the Company.

Thus it was that by July 1771, the rajas of Hautgur (Atagada), Glumsur, Mandasa, Chikati and Dharakota were indebted to the Company to the extent of a year's tribute. The group of zamindariaries known as the Mahendra Malai owed two years' tribute to the Company. Only the rajas of Bodogodo, Biridi Humma and Serugada were not indebted to the Company.⁴⁹ This summary of revenue accounts indicates the effects of the regional geography on

⁴⁶ Most of these divisions are still preserved in the revenue taluks of the Ganjam district.

⁴⁷ *Cotsford to Madras*, -1 April No. 86. and undated No. 88. *Pub. Cons.* 26 April, Vol. 31. p. 230.

⁴⁸ *Same to same*. 21 July, No. 154. *idem* 16 August, Vol. 32. pp. 551—52.

⁴⁹ *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam, 25 July 1771. *Milit. Cons.* 26 August, Vol. 70. pp. 602—09.

the position of revenues in the Chicacole Sarkar. Hill zamindariaries such as Pedda Kimidi and Kallikota, were naturally reluctant to pay tribute and difficult to reduce.

Cotsford's attempt to recover the *haveli* lands of the government were only partially successful. Thus most of the zamindars still enjoyed the proceeds of certain villages in spite of the efforts of the Madras Government.

Ghumsur	11 villages
Vijayanagar (Pedda Kimidi)	5 „
Mohiri	4 „
Hautgur (Atagada)	3 „
Humma	1 „
Total	24 „

Besides this, no uniform scale of tribute could be established. Cotsford himself confessed that "tribute paid by these Zemindars is so disproportioned to the revenues of their countries, as we find some of them pay nearly the full value of their Zemindariaries, while (the) more powerful have not to pay more than one-third, some one-quarter and the Zemindar of Goonusur not even a sixth part."⁵⁰

Further most of the rajas were generally restive and refused to account for their tribute. Thus, Pedda Kimidi's balance on 25 September 1771 alone amounted to over a lakh of rupees. The government originally directed Cotsford to defer any military expeditions until the time was propitious.⁵¹ But

Cotsford's vigorous policy. Cotsford took matters into his own hand and adopted vigorous measures to coerce the zamindars.⁵² Under his instructions, Captain

Bowman's detachment reduced the rajas of Hautgur (Atagada) and his more powerful supporter the raja of Ghumsur and thus restored the peace of the country.⁵³

By these and other cautious yet vigorous measures Cotsford secured a greater part of the balances due from most of the zamindars, as mentioned hereunder:⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam, 25 July 77. *Milit. Cons.* 26 August, Vol. 70, pp. 602-09.

⁵¹ Resolution of the Madras government. *idem* p. 610.

⁵² *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam, 20 and 28 December 1661. *idem*. 6 January 1772. Vol. 71. pp. 34 38 and 38 39 respectively.

⁵³ *Same to same*, 20 Februaury 1772. *idem*. 16 March, *idem*. pp. 209-13.

⁵⁴ *Cotsford to Ganjam*, 20 February, 1772. *idem*, 16 March, *idem* pp. 209-13.

<i>Zamindar.</i>	<i>Balance secured.</i>
Kallikota.	Rs. 45,000
Atagada	51,000
Mohiri	65,000
Dharakota	31,000
Mandasa	23,000
Chikati	40,000
Bodogoda	10,000
Sezugada	18,000
Biridi	6,000
Budarasingi	6,000
Humma	3,000
Sarangi	9,000
Tarla	12,000
Total.	Rs. 3,19,000

Ghumsur, even though reduced by Captain Bowman's detachment still paid no part of its balance. Kimidi, the property of the late Narayana Deo, remained in a state of confusion. Sitarama Razu's management and his covert intention of incorporating it into the zamindari of Vijayanagaram were unpalatable to Narayana Deo's family. There was a general rising among the inhabitants, and the hill people in particular plundered the country and even threatened to destroy Kimidi.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, fresh troubles arose in the zamindari of Pedda Kimidi. Bhima Deo, the raja, and his son Man Sing were far from being friends and this resulted in the division of the inhabitants into rival factions. The Madras government was naturally anxious to deal with the situation in an effective manner. But matters were greatly complicated when it was disclosed by John Andrews, who now set as member of the Madras council after relinquishing the Chief-ship of Vizagapatam that the information regarding this zamindari as supplied by Cotsford was not correct. Since Pedda Kimidi was within the jurisdiction of the chief-ship of Vizagapatam, the government immediately ordered Cotsford to hand over the charge of operations to the chief of that factory.⁵⁶ But even after the receipt of those orders, at the instructions of Cotsford, Captain Bandinel took possession of Pretapagiri belonging to Bhima Deo.⁵⁷ Curiously enough the Madras

55 *Cotsford to Madras, Ganjam*, 20 February 1772. *Milit. Cons.* 16 March, Vol 71. pp. 209—13.

56 *Madras to Ganjam*, 22 April, Vol. 71. pp. 296—98.

57 *Cotsford to Madras*, 29 April. *Milit. Cons.* 18 May, *idem.* pp. 382—87.

government showered plaudits on Cotsford's "spirited and vigorous measures" and further directed him "not to compromise matters nor to come to any terms with (Bhima Deo) but to proceed in depriving him of all the country possessed by him".⁵⁸ Consequently the country was gradually occupied⁵⁹ and the forts of Siddheswaram and Kotimeda were stormed and captured.⁶⁰

The reduction of the country enabled Cotsford to place the affairs of Pedda Kimidi on a satisfactory basis. The aged raja was rid of the tyranny of his servants who had misappropriated the zamindari revenues. Bhima Deo agreed to split the zamindari into two divisions, Pedda Kimidi proper and Pretapagiri. After his death, his favourite younger son was to have former while his elder son Mani Deo was to have the latter. But during his lifetime, Mani Deo was to manage the affairs of both. Besides paying Rs. 23,599 to his former surety, Bhima Deo supplied *sahukar* bills to the extent of Rs. 76,405 out of a balance of Rs. 1,28,003 which he owed to the Company. The residuum and the tribute for 1772-73 which in all amounted to Rs. 98,599 were held over for the next *fasli*. The forts of Kotimeda and the Alladigudem were destroyed and thus the tranquility of the country ensured.⁶¹

The management of the Chicacole *haveli* lands was a thorough failure. The main reasons for this failure were the want of competent knowledge of the Sarkar and the carelessness of the renters. Akkaji's failure gave the Madras government an opportunity to pronounce their opinion on the *haveli* management in the Sakar. They minuted: "Whether the circumstances of his having taken the farms at too high a price ought not to be considered and (*sic*) whether the balance, after collecting the outstanding debts in the country ought not to be wrote off, as he is unable to pay anything further."

The Board are of opinion that notwithstanding Accajee'(s) plea may be very just, it would be a very bad president (*sic*) to admit it as a reason for writing off his balance as it might be an encouragement for every man of enterprise to become a renter to

⁵⁸ Resolution of the Madras government, *idem*. 18 May, 1772, *idem*. pp. 387-88 and *Madras to Ganjam*, 22 May *idem*. pp. 395-96.

⁵⁹ *Cotsford to Madras*, camp near Digupudi, 14 May, *idem*, 8 June, *idem*. pp. 452-53.

⁶⁰ *Same to same*. Ganjam, 6 June, *idem*. 29 June, *idem*. pp. 543-49.

⁶¹ *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam, 6 June, *Milit. Cons.* 29 June, Vol. 71. pp. 543-49.

squander the rents in extravagance and to trust to his future representations for clearing from his engagements. And it is therefore resolved that the balance appearing against Accajee be continued on the books and that the same be collected or as much of it as can be, should he be in circumstances hereafter.⁶² The principle involved in this declaration which attempted to discourage thoughtless as well as extravagant bidding on the part of prospective renters was justifiable enough, but the fact that no provision was made for necessary remissions in the case of proved losses expose it to the severe criticism of modern students of revenue policy.

The triennial lease of the *haveli* lands to Abdul Rahman Beg as successor to Akkaji was another serious failure. For the first two years of his lease, Rahman had already become indebted to the Company to the extent of Rs. 2,00,000 as for the third year he only paid Rs. 86,993. These

losses coming in the train of Akkaji's failure induced the Vizagapatam Council to depute two of their servants to inquire into the revenue affairs of the *haveli* lands in general.⁶³ Added to these there was a general fall of the Vizagapatam revenues, especially in connection with the salt farms.⁶⁴

Naturally, the Madras Government were greatly alarmed at the prospect of a general deficit in the Vizagapatam revenues. They forthwith directed the Vizagapatam Council to deprive Rahman Beg of his rentership and manage the *haveli* lands on the Company's account until the period of his rentership should have expired.⁶⁵ While recalling the fact that they had "always established it as a fixt principle to let out the Company's farm according to their mean value, leaving a reasonable profit to the former for his trouble and risk," they deplored the bad management of Rahman Beg's servants, who had been allowed to deprive the Company of their revenues. They also hoped that his case would be "a perpetual warning to (the subordinate councils) to recommend none but persons of known and undoubted character and rank."⁶⁶

⁶² *Pub. Cons.* 10 April, 1772. Vol. 33. pp. 208-09.

⁶³ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 6 February 1773. No. 35. *idem.* 19 February, Vol. 35. pp. 151-52.

⁶⁴ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 28 March and 4 April, Nos. 71 and 75, *Pub. Cons.* 16 April, Vol. 35. pp. 363-67.

⁶⁵ *idem* 1 June, 1773. Vol. 36. pp. 485-86.

⁶⁶ *Stratton to Madras*, Chicacole 20 July, No. 147. *idem.* 5 August, *idem.* pp. 638-42.

Stratton was the Chief of Vizagapatam and was at this time touring through the Chicacole *pargana*.

In order to simplify management, they directed Vizagapatam to split the *haveli* lands into the two divisions of Kasimkota and Chicacole and lease them out for a period of three years.⁶⁷

While the failure of the Vizagapatam *haveli* lands was occupying the serious attention of the Madras government, Cotsford carried through a fresh settlement of those of the Ichchapuram *pargana* for 1773. Syama Sundara Chaudhari and Jagannadha Chaudhari were continued in their leases at the previous year's rates of Rs. 1,50,000 and 20,000 respectively.⁶⁸

Cotsford had been continued as the Resident at Ganjam even though a vacancy on the Madras Council had fallen in February 1773 by President Du Pre's departure to England.⁶⁹ His work during the whole of the year 1772 consisted as before of military expeditions and individual settlements with the nineteen zamindars under his jurisdiction. But no exact details concerning these transactions are available in the records. His health was affected by hard work and long residence in the unhealthy *paragana* of Ichchapuram and he requested the Madras government to relieve him on medical grounds.⁷⁰ The government readily complied with his request in October 1773 and converted the residency into a regular chiefship with four assistants. The first incumbent of the chiefship of Ganjam was Charles Smith.⁷¹

Immediately on his arrival at Madras, Cotsford took his seat on the Madras Council. In a lengthy letter to the government dated Fort St. George, 30 December 1773, he reviewed the position of revenue affairs in the Ichchapuram *pargana* which had been under his management for over a period of eight years.⁷²

He observed that after the submission of Man Sing in 1772, the zamindari of Kallikota had remained in a state of tranquility. But notwithstanding the form at reconciliation between Bhima Deo and his elder son Mani Deo, further troubles in Pedda Kimidi had compelled him to station small military detachments in the larger

67 *Same to same*, 8 August No. 155. *idem.* 20 August *idem.* p. 636-67.

68 *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam, 17 December, 1772. No. 4 for 1773. *Pub. Cons.* 5 February 1773. Vol. 35. p. 93.

69 *Pub. Cons.* 5 February, *idem.* p. 101.

70 *idem.* 21 October, Vol. 33. pp. 749-51.

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Milit. Cons.* 15 January 1774. Vol. 75. pp. 82-96.

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villages, and thus secure the grain. This step produced a fresh reconciliation between father and son, while the Company's revenues were guaranteed by the presence of the troops which were stationed in the country even after this agreement.

With regard to Dharakota, the *tahsildar*⁷³ and two persons of his guard detailed by Cotsford to secure the Company's revenues had been assassinated with the connivance of the raja, Rajendra Sing, and hence Captain Bandinell's detachment had thus been obliged to reduce the zamindari. On the other hand, the six zamindaries of the Mahendra Malai had remained quiescent and paid their tribute to the Company. Chikati had been regular in its payments and its balances had been greatly reduced. Mohiri had "ever shewed the readiest obedience to the authority of the Company". Serugada and Biridi continued in peace, as were Palur and Humma. As for Hautgur (Atagada) it was of a considerable extent and the raja maintained a respectable force, but unless his tribute was increased there was no "probability that it will be necessary to use force to compell him to pay according to what has hitherto been the fixed tribute".

Ghumsur was a powerful zamindari and paid only Rs. 30,000 a year when its revenues amounted to nine times that sum. The raja was closely related to several zamindars under the Maratha government of Cuttack and till recently also paid a considerable amount of tribute to that government. Owing to the great inaccessibility of the zamindari no enhancement of his tribute could be made. The zamindari of Saurere was inconsiderable but always remained under the influence of Ghumsur.

Thus, but for the distracted nature of Bodogoda zamindari consequent on the death of its raja, Premananda Sing, the Ichchapuram *pargana* might be pronounced to have been in "a state of tranquility" at the time when Cotsford relinquished his residency at Ganjam.

The Madras government expressed their warm appreciation of Cotsford's administration of the Ichchapuram *pargana* and recorded

⁷³ A collector of revenue, invariably an Indian. Unlike other parts of India, he performs certain magisterial duties in the Madras Presidency. He is a direct subordinate of the covenanted servants in the District, the Collector, the Sub-deputy-or assistant Collector.

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See also, Wilson: *Glossary*, s. v. p. 500.

their sentiments in the following manner: "The Board are highly satisfied with the judicious and spirited manner in which Mr. Cotsford had conducted the affairs of the countries dependent on Ganjam ever since the establishing of that settlement, and cannot help expressing their concern that a servant, who from his capacity and knowledge of the Company's interest in the Circars might render such essential service to his' employers, should from the bad state of his health be under the necessity of returning to his native country. It is a duty which we owe to our constituents to point out the merits of their servants and it is much pleasure to ourselves that we have this opportunity of giving such honourable tesimony to the merits of Mr. Cotsford."⁷⁴

Cotsford's legacy to his successor at Ganjam was a heavy schedule of balances due from the various zamindars. In this he was unfortunate in having resigned his residency during a year of severe draught. Even when allowance was made for this his settlement must in general be pronounced to be heavy. When he took charge of the Residency of Ganjam in 1768 he was faced with the bewildering circumstance of a group of nineteen zamindars, turbulent, semi-independent, with numerous retainers plunged in internecine warfare and never accustomed to pay tribute to the central authority until compelled by force. Military expeditions were the order of the day, and Cotsford successfully directed them. The expenses of these expeditions were invariably recovered from the zamindari revenues and thus rendered these petty zamindars all the poorer for their recalcitrancy. On the other hand, cultivation was generally far from being satisfactory and the income of the rajas was consequently small. Occasionally, the tribute was enhanced and the zamindars compelled to acquiesce in it. As Charles Smith, successor to Cotsford at Ganjam pointed out, the zamindars were forced to pay tribute beyond "what they ever before paid to government".⁷⁵ But Cotsford's saving grace was that he was not as rapacious as the Madras government wished him to be, and always succeeded in prevailing upon the latter to secure moderation in the assessment of such zamindarias as were settled year after year.

⁷⁴ Resolution of the Madras government in *Milit. Cons.* 15 January 1774. Vol. 75. pp. 96-97.

Earlier, the government recorded their sense of appreciation of Cotsford's services in *Pub. Cons.* 21 October. 1773. Vol. 33, pp. 749-51.

⁷⁵ *Ganjam to Madras*, 18 June, 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 8 July, Vol. 76. pp. 482-85.

But the chief mistake committed by Cotsford was that when attempting the futile first settlement of the Ichchapuram Zamindaries in 1768, during the height of Narayana Deo's power, he unnecessarily debited the zamindars with a whole year's tribute. This tribute was never paid and had been constantly carried forward on the Company's books in addition to the accruing balance from the zamindars in subsequent years. The Madras government never intended and it never occurred to Cotsford to institute a system of remissions in the case of needy zamindars. But, on the other hand, even though Cotsford indicated bad debts of Rs. 1,00,000 as early as 1771, no action was taken by the Madras government, the burden passed on from year to year to swell the debit columns of the revenue books of Ganjam. Thus, within six months of Cotsford's departure from Ganjam the balances due from the zamindars alone amounted to near six lakhs of rupees.

The following table indicates the magnitude of the balances due from the various zamindars.⁷⁶

BALANCES DUE FROM THE GANJAM ZAMINDARS.

30 April 1774.

Zamindar.	Balance due in Pagoda
Kallikota	42,016
Vizayanagar (Pedda Kimidi)	27,540
Ghumsur	16,549
Jalantra	13,030
Chikati	12,579
Mohiri	12,394
Dharakota	20,141
Surangi	11,386
Tarla	10,189
Saurera	5,899
Mandasa	3,211
Bodogoda	2,109
Jarada	8,779
Palur	1,009
Serugada	1,066
Budarasingi	1,763
Biridi	521
Humma	317
Total balances due in Madras Pagodas	1,90,498
	Rs. 6,66,733. ⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *Ganjam to Madras*, 28 June, 1774. No. 404. *Pub. Cons.* 12 July, Vol. 38. pp. 473—76.

The statement of balances is found on *idem.* pp. 476—77.

⁷⁷ This is a rough calculation of the basis of the general rate of exchange Rs. 350 to Rs. 100.

The Madras government at least realised the mistake they had been perpetuating for the previous six years. They admitted that Cotsford's settlement of the zamindaries had been summary since he "found it impossible to make any regular settlement of the tribute or to collect any part of the revenue but by military force". Still, they insisted on the speedy recovery of the balances, so that when once they had been realised "the Company may reap the benefits of (the revenue) in the fullest extent and attain the surest means of obliging the several Zamindars and renters to the most punctual performance of their engagements".⁷⁸ They directed the Chief and Council at Ganjam to procure fresh agreements from the various zamindars binding them for the speedy payment of these balances. When any of the zamindars were unable to pay, assignments of portions of their zamindaries were ordered to be demanded and accepted in lieu of the debt.⁷⁹ This attitude of the Madras government must be regarded as severe.

Charles Smith, the first chief of Ganjam, continued Cotsford's policy with the settlement of the Ichchapuram *haveli*. Jaggabandhu Chaudhari was granted its lease for a period of three years, on a lower rental than the previous years, at

<i>Continuation of Cotsford's policy by Charles Smith</i>	Rs. 1,30,000, Rs. 1,60,000 and Rs. 1,60,000 respectively for the first, second and third years. He further undertook to pay a balance of Rs. 30,454 due from the previous renter
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Abdul Rahman Beg. The Madras Government accepted this low offer mainly to encourage the cultivators and to rehabilitate the country. Since "nothing can contribute more to the increase of cultivation and to the general improvement of the Company's farms than a strict attention to the rights of the inhabitants", they directed Ganjam to enquire into them before Jaggabandhu was put in charge of the *haveli* and an undertaking obtained from him for the fulfilment of the conditions thereof.⁸⁰

As no reasonable offers were forthcoming for the sea and river customs, they were collected by the *karanams* (village accountants) directly on behalf of the Company.⁸¹ This is the first instance when any such direct collection of revenue was attempted in the Sarkars.

⁷⁸ Resolution of the Madras Government, 12 July 1774. *Pub. Cons.* Vol. 38. pp. 477-81.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ganjam to Madras*, 5 and 11 January 1774, Nos. 62 and 63. *Pub. Cons.* 25 March, Vol. 37. pp. 226-28.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Smith was less happy in his dealings with the Ganjam zamindars.⁸² Military force had to be used before the raja of Surangi was brought to submission and settle for his tribute.⁸³ But the Ghumsur zamindari gave a considerable amount of anxiety. According to the will of the deceased raja, Kissen Bhanji the younger son, proclaimed himself zamindar to the prejudice of the elder son, Lakshman Bhanj. Smith procured the services of the raja of Dharakota, who had been residing at Vizagapatam in disgrace as a result of his connivance at the murder of the Company's *tahsildar* who, on a former occasion, had been sent into his zamindari to secure the revenues, and brought over Lakshman Bhanj to the interests of the government. In this manner he hoped to weaken the authority of Kissen Bhanj, collect the balance due from Ghumsur and raise the tribute of the zamindari which had been admittedly low when compared with that of any other zamindari in the Chicacole Sarkar. But the Madras government completely disapproved of the raja of Dharakota and, after a thorough investigation, confirmed Kissen Bhanj in his rights which they considered 'legal' and just.⁸⁴

Notwithstanding this, the Ganjam Council endeavoured to justify their action in bringing over Lakshman Bhanj to the Company's interests. In support of their conduct, they quoted the precedent set by Cotsford of interfering in the family settlement of Pedda Kimidi whereby he was able to do justice to the elder son Mani Deo who had been disinherited by his father.⁸⁵ They further formulated a principle that "in all cases of demise, the heir is to look to you (the Madras government) for confirmation in the succession to the Zamindary and is not to consider himself as legally possessed of it until your approbation shall have been first

82 Smith's principal task had been the recovery of the balances of the current tribute from the zamindars. But full details of his transactions are not available in the records.

Since Ganjam was raised from a residency to a chiefship the zamindars are termed Ganjam zamindars instead of Ichchapuram zamindars.

83 *Ganjam to Madras*, 3 May *Milit. Cons.* 23 May, Vol. 75, p. 413. *Smith to Lieut. Mordaunt*, 1 May, *idem.* p. 414. *Smith to Harischandra*, raja of Surangi, undated, *idem.* pp. 414—15.

84 *Ganjam to Madras*, 18 June, 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 8 July, Vol. 75, pp. 479—80, and Vol. 76, pp. 481—86; extracts from the Ganjam Consultations, Vol. 76, pp. 486—97. Resolution of the Madras government in consultation, 11 July, *idem.* pp. 511—13; evidence of Muddu Krishna, the Company's interpreter, on the rights of succession. *idem.* p. 513. Further resolution of the government pp. 514—15; and *Madras to Ganjam*, 12 July *idem.* pp. 520—23.

85 Described earlier in this chapter.

obtained.⁸⁶ But the Madras government took no notice of these pleas. On the other hand, they pursued a liberal policy towards Kissen Bhanj. They wrote Vizagapatam: "If he is by the nature of his country obliged to pay tribute to the Maharattas or if he is under the necessity of keeping a considerable force to protect his country from their inroads, we cannot reasonably expect from him as much as from the Zemindars in the flat countries who are protected by the Company's troops."⁸⁷

According to the settlement directed by the Madras government, the tribute was fixed at Rs. 50,000 a year which was 'more adequate to the value of the Zamindary than what he at present pays'. A *jagir* valued at Rs. 9,000 a year was settled on Lakshman Bhanj. *Sahukar* security was obtained for the balances due to the Company. Finally, the ten disputed villages which Cotsford had been unable to get from the deceased raja when he settled with him in 1768, were now obtained and added to the Ganjam *haveli*.⁸⁸

Military operations were undertaken against the rajas of Chikati and Mohiri. But the apprehensions of the cultivators at the presence of the Company's troops induced the Ganjam Council to recommend to the Madras government, the restoration of Mohiri to its zamindar upon the latter's agreeing to pay his tribute on the basis of adequate *sahukar* security.⁸⁹

While still unable to bring under control the situation in the Chicacole Sarkar as far as Sitarama Razu was concerned, the Madras government pursued exceptionally vigorous measures with regard to the zamindari of Kimidi which had been a source of constant embarrassment particularly under the deceased raja Narayana Deo. The restoration of the zamindari to his son Gazapati Deo had not been

⁸⁶ *Ganjam to Madras*, 3 August 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 22 August, Vol. 75. pp. 575-83.

Smith even went to the extent of placing the government in an awkward position. He wrote that his action was supported "by the opinion of the late resident, Mr. Cotsford whose judgment of affairs in this district has been generally approved and whose sentiments on his subject wilfully appear, by the letter from him to Captain Bandinal, now transmitted to the President [that] he ventures to deviate from the general sence of the minute passed in your consultation of the 15th January 1774". *idem.* p. 579.

⁸⁷ *Madras to Ganjam*, (milit). 27 August 1774. *idem.* Vol. 76. pp. 597-601.

⁸⁸ *Ganjam to Madras*, 21 September, *Milit. Cons.* 7 October, *idem.* pp. 697-701. Resolution of the Madras government, *idem.* pp. 701-02, and *Madras to Ganjam* 8 October, *idem.* 703-04.

⁸⁹ Ganjam spoke of "the impression or terror" expected from these operations. See *Ganjam to Madras*, 8 August, *Milit. Cons.* 22 August, Vol. 76. pp. 586-90. See also, *Madras to Ganjam*, 27 August, *idem.* pp. 597-99,

productive of much good. Gazapati Deo, who had in a considerable measure inherited his father's obstinacy, defied the Company's authority and at his instance Ensign Watton and his party were cut to pieces when in January 1774 they had attempted to secure the Company revenues. The Vizagapatam Council immediately took possession of this country, declared him an outlaw, and entrusted Arzbeg and Jagannadha Razu with the management of the country.⁹⁰ The Madras government, considering the appointment of Jagannadha Razu, who was the *diwan* and an avowed dependant of Sitarama Razu as "an improper step" which could "never tend to re-establish affairs in that district", deprived him of his agency in the management and "positively directed" Vizagapatam "to keep possession of the country".⁹¹ They paid particular attention to the rights of the inhabitants and directed the Chief to secure to them their due proportion of the grain.⁹² But, they retained the services of Arzbeg who was granted a ten per cent commission on the gross collection with which he was charged.⁹³

A general amnesty was given to such of the followers of Gazapati Deo as surrendered and promised to remain under the Company's authority. They even gave Gazapati Deo a chance to explain and justify his conduct,⁹⁴ but without success. Great patience and statesmanship was shown by the Madras government throughout this protracted enquiry into the Kimidi affairs. They observed: "Altho" the late contumacious conduct of Guzzeprdoos would have warranted the immediate confiscation of the zamindary

90 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 22 January 1774. *idem.* 2 February, Vol. 75. pp. 147—53.

91 Resolution of the Madras government, *Milit. Cons.* Vol. 75. pp. 153—54.

92 *Pub. Cons.* 15 April, Vol. 37. pp. 261—63. *idem.* 2 May, *idem.* p. 304.

93 *Idem.* 2 May, *idem.* p. 304.

94 The voluminous letters dealing with the Kimidi affair are important. I append below reference to all of them.

Vizagapatam to Madras, 10 February 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 21 February Vol. 75. pp. 190—91. Translation of an account supplied to George Stratton, chief of Vizagapatam, by Vuppuluri Kanaka Razu, *vakil* to Gazapati Deo, 9 February, pp. 191-94.

Same to same, 5 March, *idem.* 18 March, pp. 262—33; *same to same*, 29 March, *idem.* 11 April pp. 304—06. Resolution of the Madras government thereon, pp. 307—08.

Stratton to Arzbeg, 24 April, *idem.* 6 May pp. 352—54. *Vizagapatam to Madras*. 7 May, *idem.* 23 May pp. 400—01. Capt. Matthews to Stratton, camp near Kimidi 28 April, pp. 401—02; Matthews to Chandler, Hiramandalam, 27 April p. 404; Stratton to Matthews, 2 May, pp. 431—05; *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 11 May, pp. 405—06; Stratton to Gazapati Deo. 5 March, pp. 406—07; Gazapati Deo to Stratton, 17 April, p. 407. Stratton to Gazapati Deo. 8 May p. 407. Gazapati Deo's *bakshi* to Stratton, 9 May. pp. 408—13.

to the Company, yet, as there are many circumstances, which, when dispassionately considered, materially extenuate his misconduct, and as it is probable that Guzzepuhdoo may have many things to represent in his vindication which have not yet come to the knowledge of the Board, they consider it an act of justice to defer the depriving him of his inheritance until it be known whether he will appear and submit his cause to a fair and public inquiry.⁹⁵

But even this indulgence could not bring Gazapati Deo to submission.⁹⁶ The Madras government was unable to show patience any longer and after a comprehensive review of the Kimidi affairs, they resolved that longer to delay bringing to account "a disobedient Zemindar for a squandering away the Company's revenue and appearing so long against them,.....would bring disgrace and contempt upon the Company's authority" and as such declared Gazapati Deo to have forfeited his zamindari and converted the latter into the government *haveli*.⁹⁷

It is here necessary to examine the internal management of the Kimidi zamindari from the revenue standpoint. The following table indicates the generally ruinous condition of the country. The great disparity between former and present produce is an evidence of the material decay of the zamindari since the revolt of Narayana Deo and subsequent unrest among the cultivators.⁹⁸

(Table overleaf)

⁹⁵ *Arz Beg to Stratton*, 5 and 13 May in *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 16 May, 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 27 May Vol. 75. pp. 430-32; *Matthews to Stratton*, Chicacole 25 May, *idem* 10 June pp. 446-48.

Madras to Vizagapatam, 15 June, p. 460. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 12 July, *idem* 25 July Vol. 76. pp. 537-41, *Arz Beg to Stratton*, 22 and 25 June and 1 July, pp. 541-45, *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 21 July, *idem* 1 August pp. 548-50; *vakils to Gazapati Deo to Stratton*, undated pp. 551-55; *Gazapati Deo to Stratton*, 15 June p. 557.

Resolution of the Madras government *idem*. pp. 560-66; *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 8 August pp. 572-74, and *President Wynch to Gazapati Deo*. 5 August, p. 574.

⁹⁶ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 14 November. *Milit. Cons.* 21 November, *idem*. p. p. 767-68. *Gazapati Deo to Vizagapatam*. 29 October, pp. 769-70, *Jagannadhu Razu to Vizagapatam*, undated and another, 3 November pp. 770-74; declaration of Jaggappa, the Company's *hirkarra*, (messenger) 9 November, pp. 774-80.

⁹⁷ Resolution of the Madras government, Vol. 75. pp. 781-85, and *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 26 November, *idem*, pp. 786-88.

Vizagapatam to Madras, 17 November, *Milit. Cons.* 23 November, *idem* p. 789. *Jagga Deo to Stratton*, 10 November, pp. 783-91; *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 10 December, *idem*. 20 December, *idem*. p. 855. intimating the sequestration of the zamindari.

⁹⁸ *idem*. 1 August, 1774. *idem*. pp. 558-59.

REVENUES OF KIMIDI. (1773)

Produce of the Zamindari.	Grain in <i>Garisas</i> . 99				Ready money in rupees.	
	Former produce	Present produce	Decrease	Former produce	present produce	Decrease
All the <i>parganas</i>	3,165	2,361	804	79,555	63,880	15,675
Sundry villages separate from and independent of the <i>parganas</i>	6,036	3,873	2,163			
Gross total of the raja's revenue	9,201	6,234	2,967	79,555	63,880	15,675
Disbursements or expenses to be deducted from the present produce.						
Produce of the <i>jaqir</i> and gifts granted in a sundry manner.	Grain in <i>Garisas</i> .	Ready money.				
Allowance to the Raja's brother	50	Rs.1150				
do. to the principal persons holding office	200					
do. to the inhabitants of the different streets	1,081					
Allowance to the raja's attendants	780	730				
do. to the <i>gudials</i> , <i>kamdallus</i> , <i>Saurash-trams</i> , etc. ¹⁰⁰	619	750				
do. to the <i>pargana</i> and village managers	1,561	9,400				
Total disbursements.	4,291	12,030	4,291		12,030	
Net revenues of the Zamindari		1,943			51,850	

1,943 *garisas* of paddy at Rs. 14 per *garisa* would fetch: Rs. 27,202

Collections in ready money:—

Total revenue. 79,052

N.B:—*Pagda mangans*, *Brahmani* and *Aghalaram mangans* and other charity grounds were only nominally rated as follows:—former produce 2,253 *garisas* and Rs. 1,725; present produce 2,068 *garisas* and Rs. 1,725 respectively.

99 A measure of grain equal to 400 markels or 185.2 cubic feet or 9,160 lbs. avoirdupois. See *Wilson*, s. v. p. 168.

100 I am unable to correctly identify these names. The nearest equivalent to the first is *gudikattu* which means the extent of land attached to a temple or a statement exhibiting it. See *ibid.* p. 188.

It will be seen from the above analysis of the Kimidi revenues, which is the first of its kind available in the Madras records, that the revenue was realised both in grain and in ready money, in the rough proportion of one to two. Next, more disbursements were made in grain than in ready money, which is an index of the prevailing system of rural economy and show the lack of a convenient circulating medium. Considerable disbursements were made to persons claiming special status. *Manyams* of various types and other lands held in charity were only nominally rated and no revenue was received from them. Finally, the regular and recurrent expenses of the internal management of the zamindari absorbed two-thirds of the gross collections in grain and one-fifth of the receipts in ready money.

As has already been shown, the failure of the Vizagapatam revenues spurred the government of Alexander Wynch to vigorous action. But their earnestness to put the

*Further consoli-
dation of Sitarama
Razu's power:
1773-74.*

revenues on a more profitable basis could not go far. They were faced with insuperable difficulties. Thus, on 23 July 1773 they resolved: "this country is capable of yielding the company a much greater revenue than we

now receive from it.....The only reasons which induced us to accept so small a tribute proceeded from our apprehensions of incurring too great a military expense".¹ The turbulence of the hill-rajahs was one of the most serious obstacles in the way of a higher rental. Sitarama Razu's agency in collecting the rents on behalf of the Company was convenient enough but could not be tolerated for ever. Hence, they ordered a minute inquiry into the whole matter.²

As a result of this inquiry³ it was found that Sitarama Razu's connections with the hill-rajahs were strong and a general uprising could be easily produced by him in times of distress. On the other hand, "he had rais'd his power to such a degree, that any attempt.....to reduce it, by setting with the hill Rajahs independently wou'd be attended with many difficulties". Further, he had already run into a debt of Rs. 3,00,000 in the shape of arrears of tribute which the Company could hardly hope to recover in full.

The Madras government were naturally greatly alarmed at

1 *Pub Cons.* 23 July 1773 Vol. 36 pp. 829-31.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 26 August, No. 164 *idem* 10 Sep, *idem* pp. 632-33.

the small chance of any increase of revenues of the country dependant upon Vizagapatam until the hill-rajahs had been settled with separately and Sitarama Razu had been compelled to raise his tribute. Even though they realised that glaring anomaly that "the value of the whole (Sarkar) amounts to near twelve lakhs of rupees out of which they do not receive one third, whereas in the other Circars the tribute collected by the Company amounts on an average almost to five eighths of their produce" they were as yet powerless to introduce any drastic reforms. They were thus compelled to continue Sitarama Razu's tribute at the old rate until a more favourable opportunity presented itself.⁴

Curiously enough, the government *haveli* which had been a regular loss to the Company under the rentership first of Akkaji and later of Rahman, was with great reluctance leased out to Sitarama Razu who contrived to make the following offer :⁵

Lessee.	Farm.	Rent in Rs.
Vijayarama Razu	Kasimkota	20,000.
Sitarama Razu	Chicacole <i>haveli</i> without the four <i>parganas</i>	1,10,000.
Jagannadha Razu	The four <i>parganas</i> of Bomalli, Jalmur, Nagara- katakam and Kanamvalasa	40,000.
Total Rs.		1,70,000.

Vijayarama Razu as his brother and the nominal zamindar of Vijayanagaram, and Jagannadha Razu as his manager were under his direct influence. As this offer fell short by Rs. 20,000 of the previous year's revenues, the government persisted in pressing for an increase of the offers to the level of those for the previous year.⁶ But they were compelled to yield and resolve that "it would answer no good purpose to quarrel with him at this time... (and) that the terms he has offered be accepted".⁷ Thus, Sitarama Razu had his own way and consolidated his power to a more dangerous extent.

⁴ Resolution of the Madras government, *Pub. Cons* 10 September, 1773. Vol. 36. pp. 694-97.

⁵ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 10 Sep No. 172 *idem*. 28 Sep. *idem* pp. 712-16.

⁶ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 2 November, 1773. No. 202 *Pub Cons*. 26 November Vol. 36 pp. 770-71.

⁷ *Same to same*, 11 January, 1774, No. 16, *idem*. 21 Jan. Vol. 37, pp. 42-45.

Towards the close of 1773, the Chicacole Sarkar was again subject to serious disorders. Maratha aid had been openly invoked by the raja of Salur, and the Madras govern-

The Maratha menace and danger from Sitarama Razu's power. ment could not secure his tribute without Sitarama Razu's assistance.⁸ The government were fully prepared to meet the contingency of a foreign invasion and outlined their future

policy on bold lines. They observed that they were "convinced that it is altogether inconsistent with good policy and diametrically opposite to the Company's interest to increase the power and influence of Sitteramrauze (and) cannot sufficiently express their disapprobation of every measure which has a tendency thereto.....He must not look for the Company's sanction in acts of oppression towards the other Zamindars, but on the contrary he must be made to understand that the Company is determined to supply (*sic*) them in all their just rights and privileges and in the present instance so far from assisting him with troops, it is resolved that he be not permitted to commence acts of hostilities against Vickeramdoo by marching into his country.⁹

At one time, Sitarama Razu and the raja of Salur seemed to be actually in league with the Marathas of Nagapur, but the Madras government discounted the fears of the Vizagapatam Council in this respect, and they successfully brought pressure to bear upon Sitarama Razu to prevent him from attempting to increase his power over the raja of Nandapuram.¹⁰

At this stage the Madras government were unwilling completely to alienate Sitarama Raju. They "had in some measure acknowledged his right to" the *pargana* of Wuratla, for the possession of which he had been contending with the raja of Peddapuram.

Sitarama Raju's right to Wuratla. The government "were unwilling.....to disgust him by an enquiry which might oblige us to take it out of his hands". But they were not

prepared to overlook the claims of the raja of Peddapuram. As a compromise and until "the circumstances of our affairs will permit" they delivered the *pargana* into the custody of

8 Same to same. 22 December 1773, *Milit. Cons.* 31 Dec. Vol. 73 pp. 907-10.

9 Resolution of the Madras government, *Milit. Cons.* 31 December, Vol. 73, pp. 910-12.

10 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 26 December. 1773, *idem*, 3 January, 1774 Vol. 75, pp. 5-6; *Madras to Vizagapatam* 3 Jan. *idem*. pp. 18-22; Resolution of the Madras government in consultation, 10 Jan. *idem*. pp. 53. and *Madras to Vizagapatam* 11 January, *idem* pp. 55-56.

Sitarama Razu, with the explicit condition that in future and, if necessary, even before the expiration of the *kaul* granted to him for its possession, they would inquire into the matter with a free hand.¹¹ The chief of Masulipatam was directed to “compel” Raghava Razu of Peddapuram to pay Sitarama Razu “whatever may appear to be due upon a fair settlement” of the disputed revenues.¹²

Sitarama Razu was less fortunate in his claims upon Salur and received a serious set back in his attempt to re-consolidate his power which had reached its zenith during the first six years of the Company’s administration. “The Zamindar of Salur (along) with the other Zamindars whom Vizaram-rauze¹³ looks upon as his dependents, are the proprietors of certain districts the tribute of which in the Moorish government was granted to Vizaramrauze as a Jaguire and has since confirmed to him by a grant from us in 1769”.¹⁴ On the death of Sanyasi Razu, the raja, his nephew and heir Ramachandra Razu took possession of the zamindari without the previous knowledge of either Sitarama Razu or the Chief of Vizagapatam. The latter would not tolerate this peremptory seizure of the country and, according to the prevailing principles of revenue administration, marched a detachment of the Company’s troops into the zamindari which captured and razed the fort of Salur.¹⁵

This action of the Chief of Vizagapatam which was partly influenced by the schemes of Sitarama Razu induced the latter to press his claims on Salur which drifted into considerable arrears of tribute to the zamindari of Vijayanagaram.¹⁶ Evidence was given to the effect that Salur had originally been a fief of Vijayanagaram, to the ancestors of Sanyasi Razu for services rendered and in consideration of an annual tribute.¹⁷ But the Madras government

11 *Pub. Cons.* 9 February 1774, Vol. 37. pp. 86-87.

12 *Idem.* 15 April. *idem.* pp. 259-60.

13 It will be remembered all through that Vijayarama Razu was the zamindar and that Sitarama Razu was *de facto* raja and *diwan*.

14 *Pub. Cons.* 4 March, 1774. *idem.* pp. 168-69. See also representation of Jagannadha Razu, *rakil* to Sitarama Razu. *idem.* pp. 173-75.

15 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 12 July, 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 25 July, Vol. 75. pp. 537-41.

16 In this connection see, *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 22 December 1773. *idem.* 31 December, Vol. 74. pp. 907-10. Also the resolution of the Madras government, 1st August 1774. Vol. 75. pp. 561-62.

17 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 22 August, 1774. *idem.* 5 Sept. *idem.* pp. 628-30. Also the declaration of Ramanarasu Pantulu Majumdar 25 Aug. *idem.* pp. 630-31. Further see *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 18 Sept. *idem.* 10 Oct. Vol. 76. pp. 707-08.

who reluctant to restore it to Sitarama Razu after it had been enjoyed by the family of Sanyasi Razu for a considerable length of time. They were indeed only waiting for an opportunity to demonstrate to Sitarama Razu their intention of curbing his power. His claims to Salur offered them a convenient opportunity to inaugurate a policy of aggression against the house of the Pusapatis which culminated in 1777.

Upon a comprehensive review of the transactions between the zamindaries of Salur and Vijayanagaram, the government resolved: "Tender as we have invariably been of the rights of inheritance amongst the Zemindars, unless obliged to deviate from that rule by manifest acts of misconduct or other obvious causes, it would be with extreme reluctance that we divested the heirs of Sanacherauze of their family possessions to gratify the ambition of a too powerful Zemindar. But, as no manifest acts of misconduct or other obvious causes appear in the present case, we cannot consent to admit the claims of Sitteramrauze to the prejudice of the heirs of the late Zamindar. For altho' Mr. Stratton seems to allow that Salloor is a part of Vizeramrauze's Jaghire, yet as that right was not asserted "till after the fort was in possession of our seapoys and as the security of the revenue and the payment of certain arrears were the only reasons alleged by Sitteramrauze for advising Mr. Stratton to take the said Fort, we think such a claim would come very improperly into consideration at present".¹⁸ As such, Salur was restored to Ramachandra Razu. But, at the same time, the arrears of tribute, as well as the customary tribute of Rs. 5,000 a year were guaranteed to Sitarama Razu. The expenses of the detachment were recovered out of the produce of the Zamindari.¹⁹

This decision of the Madras government, which is only to be justified by their need to establish their political power in the Sarkar, marked the beginning of the fall of the power of Vijayanagaram. Sitarama Razu's uncontrolled power in the Chicacole Sarkar had resulted in severe injustice being done to some of the lesser zamindaries. The military strength of the Pusapatis, the inability of the Madras government adequately to police the Sarkar and the turbulence of the several zamindars had interacted upon each other and raised the power and prestige of Vijayanagaram. But this stern attitude of Wynch's government indicated the

18 Resolution of the Madras government, *Milit. Cons.* 20 December 1774. Vol. 76. pp. 860-63.

19 *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 22 December, *idem.* pp. 860-63,

danger from such an augmentation of its power and inaugurated the policy of demilitarisation of the Sarkar which was effectively pursued in subsequent years.

But the Madras government were unwilling and unprepared to undertake precipitate measures. Their efforts to induce Sitarama Razu to augment his tribute ended in a failure. They even played into his hands, but only in order to mark time and ultimately undermine his power. Thus, while accepting his own terms, which are not mentioned in the records, they voluntarily resolved: "As we are of opinion that a settlement with Sitteramrauze for a short period might make him suspect our intentions to be unfavourable (and) greatly alarm his fears, it is agreed that the term be extended to three years and we hope this indulgence will have a good effect".²⁰ The *haveli* of Vizagapatam was likewise granted to him and Jagannadha Razu at Rs. 1,90,000 a year for a like period of three years.²¹

20 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 21 November 1774, *Pub. Cons.* 3 December, and resolution of the government thereon, Vol. 38. pp. 801-03.

21 *Same to same* 1 December, No. 220, *idem* 17 December, *idem* pp. 822-24.

DATE OF BHARATA'S NATYASĀSTRA

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. M. Ghosh has earned the gratitude of all students of Sanskrit literature by his careful and exhaustive study of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*Date of the Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra* in *Journ. Dep. Let.*, XXV, Calcutta University, 1934). He concludes, "the present text of the NŚ existed in the second century after Christ while the tradition may go back to a period as early as 100 B. C." (*ib.*, p. 52). The extant NŚ is probably the revised form of an earlier work; but, in my opinion, the present text does not seem to be much earlier than the fifth century A. D.

The present NŚ mentions Nepāla (XIV, 43) and Mahārāṣṭra (XIV, 38) which point to a date definitely later than the second century A. D. (Ghosh, *o. c.*, p. 43f.). Nepāla is found in no early work. It is for the first time mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (middle of fourth century) of Samudragupta. Mahārāṣṭra is mentioned for the first time in the *Mahāvamsa* (end of fifth century. Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, II, p. 211), and then in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II (634-35 A.D.). It is also known from Yuan Chwang, a contemporary of Pulakeśin II. But Mahārāṣṭra is conspicuous by its absence in the lists of countries found in earlier inscriptions, viz., those of the Sātavāhanas and their successors. It is no doubt mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 29); but this work on this very ground may be placed about the fifth century A. D.

There is mention of a god (NS, III, 9) who has been identified by Dr. Ghosh with Gaṇeśa (*o. c.*, p. 41). According to Hopkins (*Ep. Myth.*, p. 206 f.), however, "the epic (i. e., *Mahābhārata*) comes before Gaṇeśa is invented. Only the late introduction (I, i, 74 f.) acknowledges Gaṇeśa.....Even the introduction has not stereotyped his name which appears as Gaṇeśana as well as Gaṇeśa". If the date of the *Mahābhārata* be "400 B. C.—400 A. D." or "circa 4th century B. C.—4th century A.D." (Hopkins *o. c.* p. 1; Winternitz, *o. c.*, I, p. 465), the creation of Gaṇeśa is to be assigned to the end of the fourth century A. D. The present text of NŚ therefore cannot be placed much earlier than the fifth century.

The NS' section (in different recensions and editions) dealing with metres is partly earlier and partly later than the *Chhandahśūtra* of Pingala. The original NS' therefore may be earlier than the original *Chhandahśūtra*,

A NOTE ON THE ELURU GRANT OF SARVALOKASRAYA

B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L.

Since publishing the Ēluru Grant of Sarvalōkāśraya in the preceding part of this *Journal* (pp. 48—53) I had occasion to publish a Telugu version of the record in the *Bharati*, Madras. While doing so I read the inscription from the original plates once more and revise my readings in several places. In certain readings where I felt doubts I consulted my esteemed friend, Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, and I am obliged to him. Since the record is of great importance from the point of palaeography, I publish below a revised text of the inscription and supply facsimilies of the plates for the benefit of those who are interested in Epigraphy.

In the revised text I have read the name of one of the villages correctly as Cholivinnu (Gentive singular *Cholivinnī*); and I learn that there is a village of the name Cholivinnu near Ellore. Another important word which I originally read as *jaḷaśṛṅga* and could not explain, is now correctly read as *jaḷaśṛṅga* and it is an exact synonym of the Telugu word *nēṭi-kommu* which means the “blind arm of a water course”. Frequently one sees in village boundaries in this part of the Andhra country a tank or water course projecting into a blind aimless flow to a distance in time of flood or rainy season and drying up in other seasons. Only traces of such flow (*Jaḷaśṛṅga*) remain during other seasons.

Revised Text

First plate: Second side

- 1 Svasti [| *] [Śīma'tam sakala bhuvanābhīṣṭuyamāna Māna-
vyāsa-gōtraṇām
- 2 Kośikī(Kavśikī)vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām svāmi-Mahāsēna-pādā-
nudhyātānām-māṭṛga-
- 3 na paripālītānām-bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda samāsadita varavara-
- 4 ha-lañchhanānām aśvamēdhāvabhṛithasnāna-pavitrikṛta-vapuṣām Cha-
- 5 ḷkyānām kulajala[dhi*,samudit-ēndu(h) naya-vinaya-vī(vi)kram = ōpā-
rjita charu-
- 6 bhūri ki(ki)rtē(h*) Śrī J a y a s ī m h a v a l l a b h a mahā
(rā)jasya priyānu(nu)jasya Indra-sa-
- 7 māna-vikramasya Śrī I n d r a b h a ṭ ṭ ā r a k a s y a sūnōr-
anēka-samara sa-

Second plate: First side

- 8 mghaṭṭ-ōpalabdha-yuddha-vijaya-yaśaḥ prasūtyāmōda-gandh ādhivāsi-
 9 ta sakala digmaṇḍalasya (diṇmaṇḍalasya) Śrī Viṣṇu-
 v a r d h a n a - m a h ā r ā jasya priyatana-
 10 yaḥ samitiśēta(śayita) pitṛ-guṇa-śaktisampannaḥ aṇvi(vi)kṣikyādi
 vidyā pra-
 11 yō(ga*)śēṣaḥ Śrī V i j a y a s i d d h i ḥ sv-āsīdhārā ripu-niṛ(ṇṇi)pati-
 vara-ma-
 12 kuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭit ānēka-mapi-kiraṇa-rāga-rajñita(rañjita)charaṇa-yugaḷa(h)
 13 Śrī S a r v a (l ō) k ā ś r a y a mahārājaḥ ēvam-añjā(jñā)payati [| *]
 Ayyavōḷu-
 14 vāstavyāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Tētriya (Taittirīya) sa-brahma-
 chāriṇe(nē) Viṣṇuśa-

Second plate: Second side

- 15 rmmaṇaḥ pavu(pau)trāya Vennaśarmaṇaḥ putrāya śaśkarmma
 (śaṭkarma) niratāya Ś r i d h a r a ś a r m m a -
 16 nē Venghi(Vēngi)viśaya Ē l ū r u [nāma] grāmē pūrva-diśāyām
 vā(va)lmika[h] pūrvataḥ [| *] valmīkḥ
 17 dakṣiṇata[h | *] vā(va)lmīkaḥ paśchimata[h | *] (Ja'laśrīmgha
 (Jalaśṛṅgaḥ) uttarata[h | *] Ētetcha(Ētaiścha)tur-udadhi-dvāda-
 18 śa-ka(kha)ṇḍik = ōdrava-bīja-pari-pramāṇa kṣētram [| *] (Api cha*)
 Uttara-diśāmbu(Uttaradiśāyāmbu)ta-
 19 rākaḥ(ṭaṭākaḥ) pūrvataḥ [| *] Jalaśrīmgha(Jalaśṛṅgaḥ) dakṣiṇataḥ[| *]
 Chōliviṇṭi-sīmā paśchimataḥ [| *] Jaṭa(la)-
 20 śrīmgha(śṛṅgaḥ) uttarataḥ [| *] Ētēścha(Ētaiścha)turavadhi-dvā-
 daśa kaṇḍikā-kōdrava(khaṇḍikōdrava) bīja-pa-
 21 ri-pramāṇa-kṣētram V i ṣ ṇ u v a r d h a n a a n n a p r ā s a
 (śana) nimittam udaka-pūrvam datta[m | *]

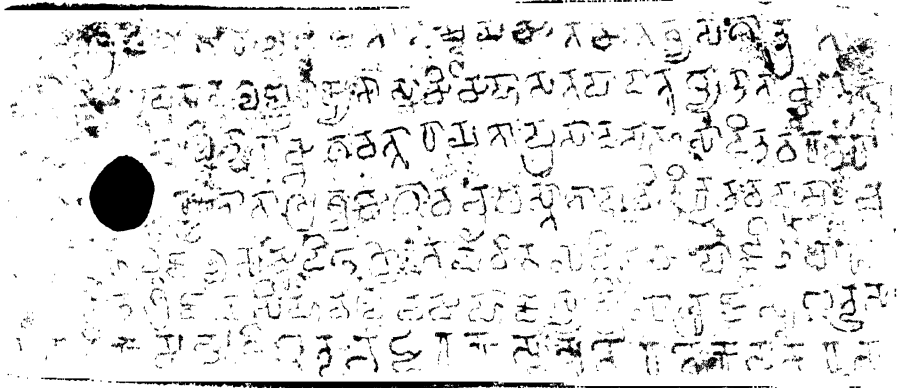
Third plate

- 22 Grihastana(grhasthāna) puṣpavāṭikā-sahitam sarva-kara-pāriharē
 pa va.....
 23 v i j a y a r ā j y a samva[tsa*]rē daśamē [pi | *] Bhūmidānāt-
 paraṇ dānām na bhu-(ta)
 24 śyati [| *] Tasya hēva(ēva) haraṇāt-pāpam na-bhūta na
 bhaviśyati [| *] Sva-....
 25 ttām vā yō haretī va.

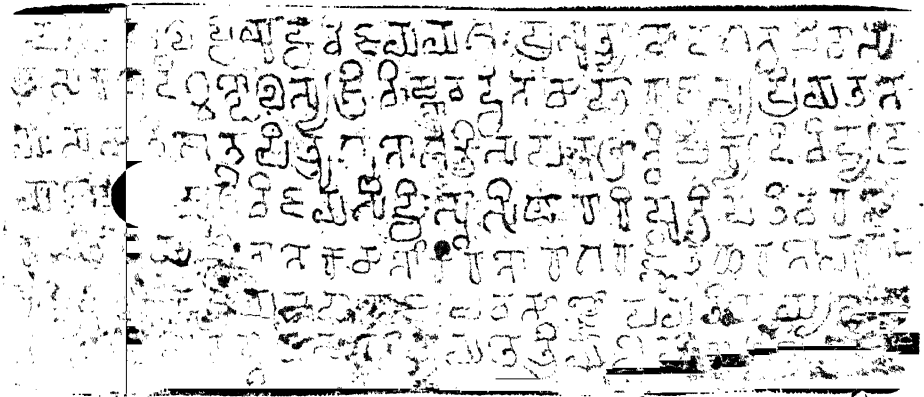
ĒLŪRU GRANT OF SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA

DATED YEAR 10

First Plate



Second Plate: First Side



Scale Three-fourths

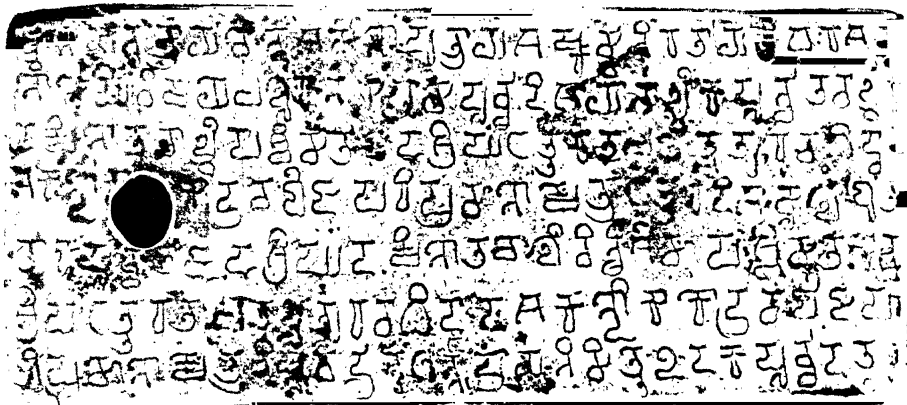
To face p. 51

By the kind courtesy of Bharati, Madras.

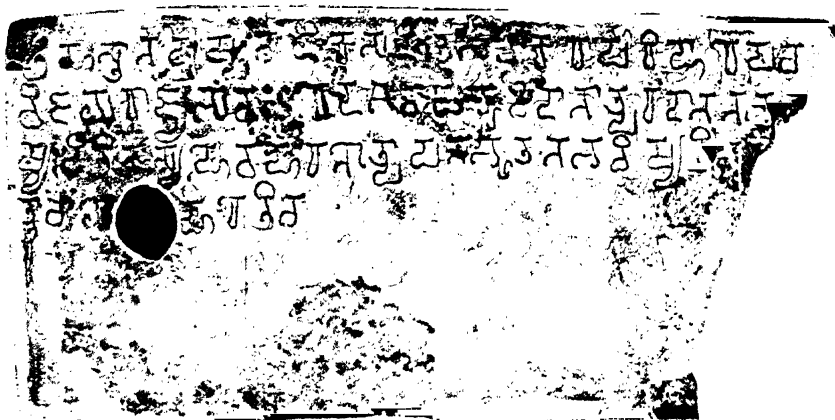
ĒLŪRU GRANT, OF SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA

DATED YEAR 10

Second Plate; Second Side



Third Plate



Scale Three-fourths

RAJARAJA CHOLA AND CHODA BHIMA.

B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L.

On page 45 *ante* of this Journal Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives a novel interpretation of verse 82 of the Tiruvalangadu plates. Prof. Sastri admits that he is eminently dissatisfied with the story of *two* successive employments of the crudest method of killing an enemy by beating him with a club. In his opinion the verse had been wrongly interpreted both by me in my article on the "Conjeevaram Inscription of Jatā Choḍa Bhīma," (*ante* Vol. X, pp. 55-8) and by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (*Ibid*, pp. 184) in his article on Chola Rājārāja I and the Eastern Chalukya alliance". But I ask, where did Prof. Sastri show the improbability of the *two* encounters, according to the interpretation put forward by me and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar? Moreover, in ancient warfare the use of a *daṇḍa* (club) was a common feature, and therefore, there is nothing improbable, crude or ugly in a warrior attacking and killing another in a fight in the thick of a battle by a blow with a club. Prof. Sastri wrongly assumes also that general Rājārāja was non-existent. There is no evidence to support this *a priori* conclusion. Then again Prof. Sastri imports into the verse a fanciful imagery which by any stretch of ingenuity is difficult to imagine that poet Narayana intended to suggest it. The suggested comparison is indeed never intended. The translation given by Prof. Sastri is manifestly wrong. Narayana could not be a fool to compare his patron's father with king Duryodhana who was brutally slain by Bhīmasēna, with the aid of a mace. The proper translation of the verse in question therefore is:

"Since Rajaraja, an expert in war, of the same name as myself has been killed by a mace on the battlefield by powerful Bhima, I shall (now) kill that faultless Andhra king Bhīma," so saying Rājārāja (Arunmolivarman) killed Bhīma with a mace".

Again it is a mis-statement of fact to assert that the Conjeevaram Inscription of Jatā Choḍa Bhīma contains a post-script of Chola Rājārāja. Professor Sastri and other Tamil scholars have gratuitously assumed that Chola Rājārāja captured Jatā Choḍa Bhīma. Such a theory is inconsistent with the above quoted verse. It is needless to repeat what all I have said to expose the hollowness of this contention, based only upon the patriotism of Tamil historians.

A Stone Record of Devendravarman at Gara, Dated in the 7th year.

B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L.

A stone record from Gāra, a village near Śrīkūrmam, in Chicacole taluk, Vizagapatam District, which is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu, records the gift of 50 cows made by Peddallu Gōkana nāyaka (called Gōkarṇa in Sanskrit) for the occasion of the *Uttarāyana* for a perpetual lamp to god Nārāyanadēva at Gāra.¹ The gift was registered in the month of Dhanus in the 7th year of Dēvēndravarman's reign. The Śaka year is mentioned in the form of an unusual chronogram *Śara-surra (ūrya) rāsmi*, which the Superintendent for Epigraphy interprets correctly as yielding Śaka 1005.¹ The Government Epigraphist, however, expresses a doubt as to the correctness of the interpretation and the possibility of another paramount sovereign reigning simultaneously with Anantavarma Chodaganga in Kalinga at that period. He contends that the chronogram should be interpreted differently as *Śitarāsmi* so as to yield the Śaka 1125. On the top of this he makes another bold assertion that "no king who bore the name Dēvēndravarman, is however, known to be ruling at this period." I must here point out that the assertion and the interpretation of the Government Epigraphist are respectively wrong and untenable. There was at this period a king named Dēvēndravarman in Kalinga who was a usurper.³ Rājārāja-Dēvēndravarman died early in Śaka 999, and his son Anantavarma-Chōḍaganga, born on queen Rajasundari the Chola princes, *enfant sa mere* or an infant in arms—the former being more probable,—did not succeed to the throne immediately. At that juncture, Dēvēndravarman of a collateral branch, usurped the throne and crowned himself king. Within a short time, however, Anantavarman was born and was placed on the throne of Kalinga by the nobles of the realm. These events led to a civil war in the kingdom which lasted roughly two decades. From about Śaka 999 (1077 A. D.) till Śaka 1020 (1099 A. D.) Dēvēndravarman the usurper held out in Kalinga against the rightful lord the young prince Anantavarman. It was also for the purpose of restoring Anantavarman on the throne of Kalinga and destroying Dēvēndravarman among other causes that the great Kalinga war was fought by emperor Kulottunga Chola I in the 26th year of his reign. Mr. Krishnamacharlu's identification of Dēvēndravarman, therefore, with the prince mentioned in the Dāksharāma record of Pallavaraja is quite sound and correct.⁴

1. A. R. No. 391 of 1932—33.

2. A. R. S. I. E. 1932—33 p. 56, foot note.

3. JAHRS. Vol. X, p. 120.

4. S. I. I. Vol. IV No. 1239 line 10.

SONGS OF MY PEOPLE

DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

The Folk-lore of a country assists the student of History to understand the soul and the character of the people, and the emotions that inspired them through ages. It is the back-ground of History of the Race or nation. Folk-songs are a vital part in Folk-lore. In them are portrayed the people, their arts and crafts, their religious customs and superstitions, their knowledge of applied sciences like medicine, their social customs, their food and tabus, their dress and manners and lastly their character. Prof. Satyarthi, who has been collecting the folk-songs of India in all languages, seeks to discover and interpret the folk-mind of the Indian races, which constitute a great ancient nation. (*Ed.*)

In the heart of the broad, open, windswept Punjab countryside, the Sarhand canal passing through it rhythmically, lies my village—a veritable beehive of folk-songs. Along the banks of the canal, pious and in love with the villagers, Noora, a shepherd of my village, still sings his favourite songs. Addressing the *Giddha*, the popular folk-dance of the Punjab, Noora still sings: "Enter my village, too, Dear Giddha; O it shouldn't be like this that you pass by the outer path!" A note of lyrical beauty runs through Noora's songs. Many a time I have heard him, singing "Layers of cream are forming on your bosom, and you will give birth to a son lovely as a lump of firm curd, O dear drinker of fresh milk!" In one of his songs he portrays his sweetheart requesting him to give her some wool to make a fine thread for her pigtail. And again and again he sings his another chosen song: "With the edge of her veil shyly she fanned out the tiny flame of the earthen lamp; and with the twinkle of her eye she promised me her love."

The peasant feels the nearness of his relation to the soil. In folk-songs a full-blooded youth is compared to the *Sarhon* flower, the emblem of spring. There are songs about the fields and crops. The bullock, the cow, the buffalo all come in; the camel, too, shares the peasants' life. The lover is often compared to a monsoon cloud that appears on the Punjab sky in the month of *Śravan*. The girl before her marriage is depicted walking in the fields with the crimson of the dawn on her face; sometimes she is compared to the morning star. Outside the realm of literary conventions, the peasant's poetry of earth and sky has a homely fragrance of life.

Sundar is a wandering minstrel. Often he comes to my village! and I know him for the last ten years. "*Mora Jadukhora*

Ve Kalahria! (O Peacock, O Magician, O *Kalahri* peacock!)" sings Sunder touching the strings of his *Sarangi* with the bow. The peacock, with his splendid plumage and fan-like tail, spotted with eyes, holds the villager spell-bound; and he, in his turn, finds a great sense in calling his sweetheart peahen: "*Shamo Mornie, de de shouk da gera!* (O Shamo, O my pea-hen, dance joyfully found the ring)". And as the lustrous blue of the peahen's neck touches the folksong, Sunder feels inspired. The *Kalahri* peacock has a longer plumage; and he is the minstrel's ideal. When Sunder sings, "O you peacock of the dense forest, my thoughts are sad for you'll fly away one day", his song gets hold of mysticism, and the peacock stands for the soul that must fly away one day.

Sunder is like the blowing wind, fresh and invigorating. He calls himself the brother of *Pachhon*, the Western wind, the beloved of the Punjabis. The *Pachhon* blows softly; originally a winter-wind, in summer it comes on a short visit. It is a great boon for the growing corn-ears. In January it brings frost, the great friend of the sugar-cane, as an old saying has it: "As the frost gets fiercer, the sugar-cane grows with the capacity of fine juice". Sunder means all this when he puts his song in the mouth of the *Pachhon*. He likes the *Pahar*, the cool hill-breeze, too, that may occasionally bring a few clouds. The *Dakhan*, or the South Wind, he does not like; it is originally hot, he says, it may bring clouds very speedily, or it may blow without clouds for days together, drying up the moisture of the soil. He quotes the popular saying: "The Spring season says that it can grow grass even on the walls of the village-huts only if the hot *Dakhan*, in the summer, does not disturb it". The *Pura*, or the East wind, that brings on its back dark monsoon clouds to the Punjab, too, enters into his songs. The *Pura* may be cruel, he says, and he remembers the resigned horror of the cotton plants, in July, when it may bring on its heels a heavy hail-storm spoiling the crop before the very eyes of the peasant. That is why Sunder cannot prefer the *Pura* to the *Pachhon*. However, he cannot forget the good qualities of the *Pura*, for he knows that if it does not appear on the scene and there is no rain the *Pachhon* will feel sad in winter to find the corn-ears poor and devoid of receptivity.

And when he sings the song of a sad girl who lost her mother and only sister while the *Pura* blew faster, his heart is full of pathos just as a monsoon cloud is heavy with water:

The East Wind is blowing,
I won't travel any further;
on a long way am I to go,

return I won't.
 O the yard is full of my mother's sisters!
 only my mother is not there!
 O my mother is not there!
 O the East Wind is blowing!
 Tiny little packets
 I put in a winnowing-fan,
 O my girl friends of childhood are not there;
 no, no, the girls are many,
 only my sister is not there!
 O my sister is not there!
 O the East Wind is blowing!

Sundar is a villager, first, last and always. His *Sarangi* laughs and cries, grins and sobs. He may sometimes visit the neighbouring town, but he says that he feels more at home in the countryside. He loves the men who live by the sweat of their brow and he sings to them songs nurtured in traditions of long standing. Somehow he imports to his listeners his own receptivity, and Sundar by your side you respond more to the joys and sorrows of the people.

Sundar sings of romance, fraternal love and tragedy. The language of his songs is brief and expressive, apt to be understood on the run. He sings of a sister whom her brothers' wives murdered in cold blood, and who was transformed into a flower-plant, relating to the passers-by her sad tale in human voice. He also sings the song of a cruel sister, who conspired with her husband's younger brother to murder her own brother as he came with his great wealth to see her while returning from a far-off country. The dead body, cut into pieces, was hid in a *gahira*, or a heap of cowdung-cakes. The soul of the deceased appeared in a dream before the mother, who came running to her daughter; and as the mother shed bitter tears, the *gahira* fell down, revealing the dead body. Every body cursed the cruel sister. Every part of the dead body was put in its own place. And when they joined together to pray to the Almighty Father to restore life to the dead person, the tragedy was no more in force; God gave life to the dead body. Again he sings *Heer-Ranjha*, *Sassi-Punnu*, *Sohini-Mahinwal* and *Mirza-Sahiban*—the old romances of the Punjab.

The people sing as they go out, as they work, as they sow seeds or reap the harvest. One little catch is dear to all:

The soul of Sohini swims
 on the waves of the Chenab,
 though she was drowned years ago!

Every peasant woman wants to be another Sohini for her mate. In songs Sohini is still seen crossing the river Chenab to meet her

beloved; her unbacked pitcher that supports her gives way to the water and she is drowned. She requests the crocodiles not to eat her eyes for she hopes still to see her lover. It is said that Mahinwal, her lover, heard her crying, and at once jumped in the deep waters, and that he succeeded in catching hold of Sohini, but both the lovers were drowned together.

Heer is still seen going to the forest to meet her lover, Ranjha, who tends her father's buffaloes; the songs show a fire in Heer's eyes, a magic that enchants Ranjha. The rays of the morning sun shine on her face; a thing of art and beauty in the hands of the village poet. The legend-laden folksong is proud of Heer.

The earth and sky take possession of the *Giddha*-dancers, body and soul; every thing within their purview receives a poetic treatment. Men and women have separate dance-gatherings. In some parts men do not take to the *Giddha*, but the daughters of the soil simply jump to it everywhere on festive occasions, especially on the *Tian* in the rains.

II

I well remember how folksongs inspired me in my younger days. It was only natural that Noora, my village shepherd, who inherited a certain power in song and poesy, inspired me to see beauty everywhere, and I listened to him. I liked the rhythmic bright tune to which he once sang to me a time-old catch:

O dry *pipal* leaf,
why are you ruffling?
Fall down now, old leaf,
for the season of new leaves has come."

I at once began collecting folksongs. Later on, while at college, my love for folk songs did not stop.

An Afridi friend of mine, who had a page of history glowing on his face, sang to me a song based on an old story of how Nadir Shah, the Persian conquerer, had given up the idea of conquering the Afridis, knowing that they were capable of resisting their enemy for months together, finding sustenance merely in wild roots and berries.

May Tirah enjoy prosperity
through Allah's grace
long live the Afridis there!

he sang to me again and again. His another favourite song was:

Tirah is a garden,
Maidan an old, green-meadow:
the Afridis are parrots,
with joy they sport there.

I sang to him some songs from my village. He liked the song of

the peasant woman, who requested her husband not to leave his village; "How sweet is the shade beneath the trees of our village!", the keynote of the song, went deep into his heart. The Pathan song of the *Pezwan*, or nose-ring, was rather sweet:

Why shouldn't my sweetheart's lips
be so tender, sweet and fresh?
Throughout the summer and the winter
they remain under the shade of her *Pezwan*

Some Kashmiri songs again inspired me. Krishna Kaul, a Kashmiri student, introduced me to an ancient tune of Kashmir's folk-music. The theme of his song was novel. It brought before my eyes a beautiful woman of Kashmir awaiting her husband, and imagining him in the sweet embrace of the rival saffron flowers as he passed through the fields of the village of Pampur.

Krishna Kaul described to me the varied beauties of his land, of the snow-clad Himalayan peaks and glaciers. He told me of the sacred cave of Amarnāth, the path of which had once been forgotten, and of the Moslem shepherd who finally traced it and was rewarded by the State with the hereditary right of receiving a good part of the offerings and money brought to the cave by the pilgrims every year. He told me the stories of Veri Nag, the source of the Jhelum, where on the thirteenth of the bright fortnight of the Bhadrava moon every year the Pandits celebrate the birthday of their dear river taking a bath in the holy stream, of the lotus-bedecked Dal, of Shalamar, Chashmashahi and Nishat—the famous Moghul gardens, of Sonamarg and Gulmarg, the gardens of nature, and over and above all the singing voice of the people, their faces outshining the blossoming flowers of their land.

III

Apart from folk-songs in Punjabi, my mother tongue, my association with the Pathan and Kashmiri songs inspired me to go all over India and make a comparative study of the songs of the Indian people. I have so far collected folksongs from more than thirty languages of India. And I am keen on extending my research-work in the folk-songs of the remaining languages.

In almost every case I first take down the original text of a song and then translate it with the help of a reliable interpreter. Again while smartening up the sing-song nature of the literal translations, I take every care to bring out the real spirit of the original words. In spite of the absence of the original music and the charm of the actual poetic words, I strive to make my translations the representatives of substantial worth of the folk-songs.

Flames of pure gold rose up
 as they burnt the pure girl;
 the ashes, too, were made of silver,
 pure white silver!
 Alas! she brings a bad name
 to our family so rich and grand!
 When the bride was burnt to ashes,
 the husband returned homeward,
 and he said in sorrow:
 "Mother, now the house is free for you alone!"
 Alas! she brings a bad name
 to our family, so rich and grand!
 "Mother, freely you can move about,
 freely you can come and go;
 but alas I am undone,
 no more is with me my pure bride!"
 Alas! she brings a bad name
 to our family, so rich and grand!

Songs of family-life form a big section. The *Nanad*, or the husband's sister, may act as a bogey. The *Sas*, or the mother-in-law, too, oppresses the bride. *Nanad* and *Sas* are the two bitter words in the vocabulary of a bride, snubbed and harassed. The daughter of Gujarat had only said to her mother: "No more the days of joy, mother, small young shrubs of sorrow are growing"; and the *Nanad* soon brought death to her, for she took her remark as a great insult of her father's family. The husband plays the role of a fool, he would have saved his wife quite easily; harassed by the family-atmosphere, he poisons her, and realizes his mistake when she is no more with him. "Flames of pure gold rose up as they burnt the pure girl;" is a poignant note of Gujarati muse. Another noteworthy side of the song is the *Gharcholan* blouse, that the bride put on as the old tradition had taught her, with the hope that she would marry the same husband in her next birth; she very well knew that her husband was only a toy in her parents' hands, and she excused him in her heart of hearts. *The tragedy of a village bride*, when sung in chorus, brings tears to the eyes of brides; possibly it also inspires the *Nanad* and the *Sas* to treat their bride with kindness and regard. And now when the joint-family system is going to be at bay, the *Nanad* and the *Sas* are losing their old hold.

The Indian villager, as another section of folk-songs reveals him, has undoubtedly the power of seeing the world through the animal's eyes. A Gond folk-song depicts the *Sangni* fish, asking: "Why the fisherman gets a son?" The fisher boy carries a net on his head from his birth, the *Sangni* fish says, and her whole life

becomes a constant weeping. The Bundelkhandi folk-song, too, has welcomed this theme; here we find the fish cursing the fisherman's wife to be barren.

A folk-song, in the United Provinces, tells the pathetic tale of an innocent doe; her mate is killed on an occasion of royal festivities, but like a faithful wife she keeps his memory fresh in her heart:

So small in size but full of leaves,
lo! there we see a *Dhak* tree;
beneath it stands an innocent doe,
O see how sad is she!

Finding her sad asks the grazing deer,
so low in spirit, O what makes you my doe?
is it for your meadow is dried up?
or that water is so rare, dear doe?

My meadow, O my meadow is green,
and water, too, not rare, my love;
today is the sixth day of the prince's birth,
alas! they will take your life, my love!

Here we see Queen Kaushalya,
on her *machia* sits she;
standing near her prays the doe:
"Hear me, O Queen, her me!"

The flesh of the deer—my mate,
they are cooking in your kitchen;
do order them, kind Queen,
so that they give me the deer's skin.

On the *Dhak* tree I'll hang it,
circling around towards the skin I'll ever see;
Some solace will I get and feel,
here is my deer, and that still lives he".

"The skin of the deer" says the Queen,
"I'll give you in no case, O doe;
the musical instrument *Khanjari* I'll make it for my Rama,
get away, O get away, poor doe!"

Beneath the *Dhak* tree stands the doe,
O see how sad is she;
Whenever sounds the *Khanjari*, high or low,
for the deer—her handsome mate—longs she!

The village-poet seems to have entered deep into the feelings of the doe. Queen Kaushalya illustrates vividly the intensity of human cruelty. But why Kaushalya's name is associated here? The whole song is worked up into a picture, novel and well-balanced.

I remember a folk-song of the Punjab where a doe requests a king not to kill her mate—the husband of sixty and four does; all the sixty four does will become widows, she says, after the death of one deer.

The Lament of the Wounded Doe, translated from Bengali, is again a remarkable specimen:

Lo! there grazes the doe and the archer seeks for game,
suddenly he hits her with his sharp arrow;
thus breaks forth the poor innocent doe;
"What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me!"

I am but a forest-doe and I owe to none,
 but my delicious flesh and blood
 turn the whole world against me,
 What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me!

Mourn I shall not for my own death
 but what answer, brother archer,
 wilt thou render to gods above?
 What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me!

Whenever my child aflame with hunger
 will cry, calling, 'O mother' mother dear!
 that cry will surely strike at the hearts of gods.
 What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me!

O my friends of the flock, tell ye my mate,
 'Nurse my child with love and care,
 no more in life shall we see each other,
 the archer's shot ends all my hopes and dreams!
 What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me!

Who is that smith, O who is that smith,
 the maker of this deadly arrow?
 Extinct be his family from this world;
 What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me!

The transition from the doe's lament to the villager's own suffering is almost imperceptible. The tiller of the soil, troubled at the hands of the *zamindar*, can very well sympathize with the wounded doe. The penetrating cry of the dying doe. *What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me*, the refrain of the song, comes, however, like a shock to the tiller's deep-rooted belief in fatalism. The doe curses the blacksmith, who makes the pointed arrow, rather than the "brother archer".

Sorrows are many in life. *The Barren Woman*, a song of *Sohar*, or the son-birth festivities, in the United Provinces, has its own pathetic atmosphere. The tune is almost the same as in the case of the songs, with the joy of the birth of the new son as their theme. But in spite of the happy bright tune, unaptly given to a sad theme, the barren woman's sad story is not toned down:

My mother-in-law calls me barren,
 her daughter, my *Natal*, too, abuses me;
 my husband, who married me in my tender days,
 has driven me from my home!

Amidst the forest trees stands the deserted woman,
 and a tigress greets her:

"What calamity is yours, woman", asks the tigress.
 "O what brings you here in the fearsome forests?"

"Taking me for barren my husband deserted me,
 pray devour me now and end my agony soon".
 "Go back to your home, O woman, I won't eat you,
 barren I'll become if I feast on a barren woman".

Next she stands by an ant-hill,
 and the cobra-queen comes out and greets her:
 "What calamity is yours, O woman," asks the cobra-queen,
 "O what brings you here by the ant-hill?"

"Taking me for barren my husband deserted me,
 pray bite me now 'and end my agony soon".

"Go back to your home, O woman, I won't bite you,
 barren I'll become if I drink the blood of a barren woman".

Next she stands by her mother's door,
 and her mother greets her:

"What calamity is yours, daughter", asks her mother,
 "O what brings you from your father-in-law's home?"

"Mother-in-law calls me barren, and my husband deserted me,
 pray keep me with you, mother dear, to lessen my agony".

"Go back whence you came, O daughter, I won't keep you here,
 Barrenness will come to my son's wife if a barren girl lives so near".

By the lap of Mother Earth in the forest she stands and says,
 "pray burst, Earth Mother, into your bosom I must plunge now!"

"No, no, that can't be, O go back whence you came,
 I shall become barren myself if a barren girl is buried in me".

The barren woman has no place, no joy. Her lap is empty. She is devoid of "a juicy grape"—a little son, as he is called in a Pathan lullaby. Her life is pitiable, for she lacks "a light that lightens the pupils of the mother's eyes", as a Telugu cradle-song would call it. She yearns for "a sweet gift of gods", for "a cherished boon—fruitage of prayers", well-known to the charming cradle-songs of Gujarat.

Songs of joy often embrace romance; work and leisure contribute separately to the far-reaching notes of love. *Roopa*, originally a wedding-song in Almora hills, tells how a hill girl failed to recognize her own husband, who left her at home just after his marriage and returned after many years.

"Roopa, in the field that overlooks the road,
 how it is that you weed the peddy-plants all alone?"

"Wayfarer, for me alone remains this work,
 O who else shall I bring with me into the field?"

"Roopa, whither have gone the wives of your husband's brothers?
 Whither have gone, Roopa, his brothers themselves?"

"Whither have gone his sisters, Roopa, dear Roopa?
 Whither have gone, Roopa, his mother and father?"

"Wayfarer, his elder brother's wife is busy in the kitchen,
 the younger one's wife must be fetching grass,
 amidst the village-elders sits his elder brother,
 the younger one must be tending the buffaloes,
 his sisters live with their husbands, dearest husbands,
 and his mother and father, wayfarer, are now at a ripe age".

"Roopa, in the field that overlooks the road,
 what kinds of paddy plants do you weed all alone?"

"Wayfarer, carefully listen to me,
 the *Sal* and *Jamol* paddy plants I weed in the field all alone".

"Roopa, now tell me the biggest thing without hesitation,
 O whither has gone the man, who owns your hand?"

"Wayfarer, he married me when I was a small and tender girl,
shortly he left for a distant land and never returned;
the *Silang* tree, that he planted just after the marriage, is blossoming now,
he never returned to me, O he never returned!"
"Roopa, now open your eyes and see and see,
I, your husband, stand by the field-edge smiling!"
"Wayfarer, you ventured so much, now no more words,
a single word more and bitterly I'll abuse you",
"Roopa, let's go in the shade of the *Silang* tree,
or beneath the *Pipal* where the breeze is free!"
"Wayfarer, my husband had the *Navihar* shoes,
his trousers were made of the *Duri* cloth,
his turban was of the beautiful *Pvatre* cloth,
his shirt suggested the colour of the Ganges water,
a silken girdle, wayfarer, adorned his waist,
and in his hand he had a brass-handled stick".
"Roopa, torn are my *Navihar* shoes—you cannot recognize them,
torn are my trousers, too, Roopa, my dearest Roopa,
Roopa, believe me I am your own husband;
I'll take you in a palanquin, and if I am false
I'll give myself up to serve at your plough!"

IV

Indian folk-song is a living institution. I wish long life to it.
Through it I have always felt the heart beats of India.

How fundamentally one the life is in various provinces of
India. Oneness of Indian life and culture pulses in the beat of her
folk-music and dance and spontaneously speaks in the simplicity of
words. Same smiles and tears, same love for home, for nature;
same hoary belief in the pity of the gods; same metaphors and
similies of life and death. The local colour, however, seems to
create an atmosphere of diversity here and there as we go from
one province to another; but it never obstructs our path to discover
the identical joys and sorrows of the people.

I have not been able to express my love for my country in
political activity; nor any form of social service could suit me.
I have only one work for my whole life—the study of the songs
of my people. I will put my collections one day at the threshold
of India's national renaissance; a nation reborn must be inspired
by its folk-songs for they possess an unending force to strengthen
its ethnological ties.

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PART III

DUAL KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA,

Dr. P. SREENIVASACHAR, M. A., PH. D. (Lond).

Dual kingship may roughly be taken to be the conjoint constitutional exercise of the sovereign power by two persons in a State. We have such examples in the ancient States of the West. But in India we have only a single example of this in the little known history of the Haihayas of Kōṇa-maṇḍala.

The Kōṇa-sīma or Kōṇa-maṇḍala is the deltaic country at the mouth of the Godavari River. The Naḷapur grant¹ states that Kōṇa-sthala was situated in the Godavari delta. At present the term Kōṇa-sīma is applied to a portion of the Amalapuram taluk of the Godavari district, which being watered by several branches of the Godavari river is as fertile as a Kōṇa or valley. In this unique and more or less insular part ruled a branch of the Haihaya family from about the middle of the 11th century till the 14th century A. D. They were originally the feudatories of the Cōḷas and were later on conquered by the Kākatiyas in the time of Gaṇapati.

They claimed descent from Kārtavīrya of the Yadu-vamśa and called themselves "the lords of Mahiṣmatīpura." Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* mentions it as the capital of Pratīpa, a descendant of Kārtavīrya, and locates it on the banks of the river (Rēva) Rewa. Cunningham identified it with Mandla on the Narmada. In any case it was a town which was outside the Telugu country and outside the rule of the Kōṇa chiefs. The title was hence merely hereditary.

The emblems of the Kōṇa chiefs were the drum, the peacock's tail, the spear, and the single conch. A few details of their political history are necessary to understand the nature of their succession to the throne.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 286—92.

The first ruler of this dynasty is Mummaḍi-Bhīma I who claims to have been appointed 'the lord of Vengi' by Rājādhirāja Rājendra Cōḍa, who is obviously Kulottunga Cōḷa I. We need not discuss here the truth of this statement. But we may note that there is ample evidence to show that the Kōṇa chiefs were merely the subordinates of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs, and that even after the Velanāṇḍu chiefs were overthrown, the Pithapuram inscription of the joint rulers Malli-dēva and Manma-Satya II contains a *śloka* praising Jayamāmbā, wife of Manma-Gonka of Velanāṇḍu and the mother of Pṛthvīśvara.

The wife of Mummaḍi-Bhīma I was called Chh dvī-dēvī, and they had two sons, Venna and Rājaparāṇḍu I. We have no evidence of Venna's rule. Rājaparāṇḍu left three sons at the time of his death, two of them, namely Mummaḍi-Bhīma II and Rājendra-Cōḍa, by his first wife Lakṣmī, and Satya I, or Satyāśraya by his second wife Toṇḍamāmbikā or Toṇḍamāmbā. Although the eldest son was alive the second son Rājendra Cōḷa succeeded his father on the throne. He claims to have ruled the country of Vengi and to have assumed the insignia of sovereignty which had been conferred on his grandfather Mummaḍi-Bhīma I by Kulottunga Cōḷa I. This is surprising since his own father Rājaparāṇḍu I is spoken of only as the "the Lord of Kōṇa-maṇḍala." Though it is unlikely that Rājendra-Cōḍa ruled any territory apart from his Kōṇa country, his very accession superseding his elder brother, suggests that he had some special claim on the favour of the Cōḷas.

From now on begins the joint rule which goes on for four generations.

After Rājendra Cōḷa, his two brothers Mummaḍi-Bhīma II and Satya I both came to the throne. They are both mentioned in an inscription dated A. D. 1135-36. Rājadēvī, wife of Mummaḍi-Bhīma II is mentioned in an inscription dated Saka 1057 (A.D. 1135), while another inscription of the same year commemorates the gift of land by Satya or Satti-rāja, the son of Kōṇa Rājaparāṇḍu and Toṇḍi-dēvī, the younger brother of Rājendra-Cōḷa and the lord of the Kōṇa country. This shows that there was the actual rule of both the kings at one and the same time, in the same territory.

After the joint rule of Mummaḍi-Bhīma II and Satya I, came the joint rule of Lōka-mahīpāla or Lōka-bhupālaka and Bhīma III, their respective sons. These were the vassals of Rājārāja mentioned in the two Pithapuram inscriptions. In an inscription dated in Śaka 1075 and the 9th regnal year of Rājārāja-dēva, corresponding to A.D. 1153, Bhīma III calls himself *Mahāmaṇḍālāśvara* Bhīmarāja.

Lōka-bhūp.laka or Lōka-mahīp la is called Rājendra-Kōna-Lōka-Rāja, in an inscription dated Śaka 1072 (A. D. 1150).

After these two, Malli-dēva, the son of Rājendra-Chōla I came into his own and shared it with Vallabha the son of Rājendra and grand son of Satya I. He had a pretty long rule and when Vallabha died he continued to rule now with Vallabha's son Manma-Satya II or Manma-Satti, who obtained his father's position. An inscription in Pithapuram records the grant of Oddiyur (near Dr. kṣār.ma) in Śaka 1117 by these two kings Malli-dēva, and Manma-Satya II. This inscription is the bed-rock of the history of this family.

There are a number of other records of this dynasty, not yet published, mentioning various other rulers. But it is not necessary to go into the details of the political history of this dynasty, since the existence of Dual Kingship is clear from the evidence so far cited, particularly from the unimpeachable testimony of the Pithapuram inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satya.

Of course there are many cases in Indian History of joint rule in more or less a limited sense. The custom of the heir-apparent being associated with the end of the king's reign is quite common. This was largely due to the anxiety on the part of the reigning king to ensure the succession of his chosen person. When the Kakatiya king Gaṇapati decided on making his daughter Rudrama his successor he took this precaution. He practically treated her as his son and made her the ruler during his last years, without at the same time renouncing his throne. The famous Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya did the same when he grew doubtful whether his boy-son Tirumalāyādēva-maharāya could succeed him on the throne of Vijayanagara, when the older and more fitted Aeyutadēvarāya was still alive. We have a number of inscriptions of this boy king in the year A.D. 1524, under the royal name of Virapratāpa Tirumala-dēva-maharāya. It is said that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya conferred full power on this young boy of six, himself renouncing the throne and assuming the duties of the Prime Minister. Śaḍuva Timmarusu became the adviser. It is well known that this state of affairs did not last long because the young boy fell ill and died even before the coronation festivities had come to an end.²

2. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya tells me that he has got a copper plate grant which proves that Deva-raya I and Vijaya were ruling simultaneously. I dare say this is another instance of a *Yuvaraja* being invested with the authority to administer a kingdom by the reigning king.

It is needless to multiply instances, and we may pass on to a different set of cases where there are two rulers, one *de facto* and the other *de jure*. The rule of Allāḍa-reḍḍi of Rajahmundry is a clear case in point. The rightful heir was Anitalli, and the only other person who had some right to interest himself in the government was her husband Virabhadra. But we find actually Virabhadra's father Allāḍa-reḍḍi ruling and his elder brother Allaya-Vēma issuing grants in his own name. R ma-r ja occupying the silver throne of Vijayanagara, while Sad śiva continued to be acknowledged as the master—at least once a year—is another such case. Sad śiva however, had no choice in the matter.

To a slightly different category belongs the case of Harihara I and Bukka I. These two brothers of the Sangama family were the chief founders of Vijayanagara. All the four younger brothers acknowledged their eldest brother Harihara as their master, although they were practically independent in their provinces. But the inscriptions of Bukka I are found even in the country of Harihara I, and the relations between these two brothers are much more intimate. However, no question of Dual Kingship arises in this case. Bukka I was the right hand man of Harihara I in the supreme task they had undertaken of creating a formidable bulwark against the onslaughts of the Muslims. There was no time to think of settling down to a happy and peaceful rule and concern themselves with formal questions of prestige, authority, etc. Bukka I showed the necessary respect and honour due to his elder brother, but beyond that, it was impossible under the circumstances to act the courtier and merely wait for orders from him, when matters of life and death were pressing hard on their attention.

We have instances of two sons dividing a kingdom after their father's death. The kingdom of Rācakonḍa was thus divided in the reign of Ana-Pota, who retained Racakonḍa and the surrounding territory for himself, giving the other half to his brother Māda, with the capital city at Dēvarakonḍa. Ana-Pota was succeeded by his son Singama II and Mada by his son Pedda-Vedagiri. This is quite different from what happened in Kōna-maṇḍala. We have an instance of even the gift of a kingdom in the foundation of the independent kingdom of Rajahmundry by Kaṭaya-Vema, through the generosity of his brother-in-law Kumaragiri. But another instance of two kings ruling at the same time with equal status and power, as in Kōna-sīma is not seen in India.

Such a conception was unthinkable to the ancient Hindus, and neither literary men nor philosophers have conceived of such a thing. We have instances of the Republican form of government, and perhaps even of democracy of a sort. But kingship denoted something quite specific to the Hindu mind. It was too sacred and divine to be subjected to any artificial restraints.

Kingship was instituted by an act of Brahma. The Mahābhārata (*Śāntiparvan*, 59) strongly asserts this divine sanction and the legend of Prthu-manyu of the Holy order of the Kṣatriyas makes the king a veritable *nara-dēva*; a human god to be worshipped. The same idea is expressed in Manu. Nārada says, "The king has purchased his subjects by his austerity. And so he must be obeyed. Even their livelihood depends upon him. The king must be worshipped by his subjects even though wicked."

The theory of the divinity of the king was put into practice by the Hindu kings on their coins and in inscriptions. A Greek king was called Theos, and Agathocles called himself a God. The Kuṣāṇas were called *dēva-putras*. Then there was the nimbus or the halo over the heads of the kings suggesting their divine status. The Guptas also had the nimbus and Samudragupta is called *loka-dhāmnō dēvasya*. He was equal to the other gods Kubēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama.

We cannot go into the origin and development of this idea of absolute monarchy. But we may note in passing that even as early as the Brāhmaṇas, there had been a conflict between the Brāhminas and the Kṣatriyas as regards ownership of land. The Kṣatriyas claimed ownership of all land and a gift of land by a king never included ownership of land in the strict sense of the term. Some Brahmins, however, held that the king had no authority over land, since Earth was common to all men. Hence, they argued, the king could only give the use of the land. Śābara expands the idea underlying the Brahmanic point of view. According to him there is no difference between a monarch and a man. The king's duty is only to protect the soil. Although a portion can be given as a gift, a *mahā-bhūmi* cannot be given.

However, the Brahmins finally had to acquiesce in the Kṣatriya view of land. The *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the Kṣatriya as the Norm of Society and compares the others with reference to him.

By the time we come to the Epics we find such terms as *prthivī-pati* or Lord of the Earth. The king was filled with the

spirit of Viṣṇu and since Mother Earth is one of the wives of Viṣṇu, the king is the husband of *bhūmi* or the Earth. The Brahmins consoled themselves by arguing that the Brahmin is the owner of the whole world, but the Kṣatriya can be the Lord of it, just as a woman takes a brother-in-law as her husband when the husband goes to war. Thus the Brahmins conceded the ownership of the Kṣatriyas in practice, though they kept up the theory wedging it in much argument. The divinity of the king thus increased in emphasis as their power advanced till we get the conception of absolute monarchy. Śukra says, "The king is made out of the permanent elements of Indra, Vayu, Yama, the Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, the moon and Kubēra, and is the lord of both the immovable and the movable worlds. In another place he says, "The sovereign must possess the attributes of Father, Mother, Preceptor, Brother, Friend, Vaiśvānara, or Kubēra and Yama, the god of Death." According to Śukra, the king is the quintessence of divinity. He is the source of the prosperity of the world. He safeguards the whole fabric of Society. It is from him that all social and political usage flows. He is altogether in an unusually high position, and is the most important factor in the body politic.

It is true that the king was ordained to go in accordance with the laws embodied in the *sāstras*. But in practice and even in theory the king was the originator of the law. Hieun Tsiang tells us a story of Bimbisāra passing a law that any man in whose house a fire broke out should be banished out of the realm. When a fire broke out in his own palace he was prepared to leave the realm. In Aśoka we have an instance of a king who made sweeping changes in the administration of the country,—changes that were almost revolutionary in character. The Brahmins might have disliked it but they could not put forth any great fight against it. Kauṭilya pertly remarks, "The king is the *Dharma-pravartaka* (the person who keeps the law going)".

In times of emergency the king could overlook the *sāstras* and do almost anything he liked. The conception of *āpat-dharma* was a safe excuse for ambitious kings. The welfare of the State was the only consideration to be looked to according to the *sāstras*. The state was to be emancipated from the rules of morality. It was a sort of *super-man*. These ideas are fairly well-known through Kauṭilya. But Kauṭilya was no inventor of Machiavellinism. It is already set forth in the Mahābhārata with great eloquence and force. In a passage in *Vana-Parvan*, it is stated, that whatever a king might

do for his kingdom can be expiated by sacrifices and gifts. In times of *āpat* or emergency the king could suspend all common laws and morality. Even Brahmins could be put to death if sinful, and the Mahābhārata, Manu and Śukra allow even the enlistment of Brahmins as soldiers.

Such a conception of kingship is totally inconsistent and incompatible with Dual Kingship. In addition to this there was the ideal placed before the Hindu king that he should become a *sārva-bhauma*, universally acknowledged to be supreme, and perform the Horse-sacrifice as a proof of it. This would make it quite impossible to conceive of two kings with equal power, each having the right to question and modify the actions of the others.

In the case of Sparta the idea of an elective monarchy suggests a high state of political development of the community at large and a realization by the people that they were the State, and that they handed over the sovereign power to the two elected kings. The element of contract appears in the election of the two kings and the insistence on their mutual agreement in all their important activities.

Unlike this, the Hindu idea of a sovereign made him the sole repository of sovereignty, which was, therefore, indivisible and divine in origin.

What then is the explanation of this strange institution in one corner of the Telugu country? We cannot brush aside the clear evidence of the Pithapuram inscription issued by two kings ruling together in the same territory, especially when the inscription contains a detailed account of four generations of Dual Rule. We may note here the exact wording of the passage. It runs:—"His elder brother (*i. e.* Rājendra-cō'a's elder brother) and younger brother, the glorious lord Mummaḍi-Bhīma (II) and prince Satyāśraya, whose prowess was famed in the world, (and) who burnt by (the fire of) their valour crowds of hostile lords of provinces—again (?) divides this earth, (?) and ruled (it) conjointly." The phrase 'divide this earth' which is followed by a question mark in Hultzsch's translation is significant. The actual reading is *vibhajyē-mām (cuvam) cūyaḥ*, which has been corrected into *vibhaj=ēām bhuvam bhūyaḥ*. Both from the context as well as the actual wording of the statement it is impossible to interpret this to mean that they divided the kingdom between themselves. Besides, if such a division had taken place, two different dynasties would have been founded and the descendants of Mummaḍi-

Bhīma II and Satya I would have continued, ruling their respective portions of the kingdom separately. Although the sons of these two rulers actually succeeded to the throne in the next generation, the succession after that does not allow us to conclude that two distinct dynasties had been founded.

The other verses relating to the succession and the details of the gift make this point clear.

(V. 23) After (the death of his) father that glorious Lōka-mahīpāla ruled the earth, seated on his throne.

(V. 24) And like Acyuta (Viṣṇu) himself, the glorious prince Bhīma (III) embraced the fortune of (his) father, prince Satya (I) together with the earth.

(V. 26) After these two, prince Mallideva and the Lord Vallabha ruled the earth undisturbed.

(ll. 96 f.) That prince Mallidēva and this lord Manma-Satya II, the son of the lord Vallabha, having both conjointly called together the *rās, rakūṭas* and all other ryots of the district of Guḷṇavāḍi issue the following command:—

(l. 99) Be it known to you that We have given.....

A word about the origin of the Haihayas in the Telugu country is necessary to account for some of their peculiar features. There are several feudatories in the Telugu country who claim to be of the Haihaya family, and trace their descent from Kṛtavīrya. They call themselves “lords of Mahīśmatīpura”.

Since the Kalacuris of Central India call themselves the Haihayas and claim descent from Kṛtavīrya of the thousand arms, we must assume that all these individuals and families which claim to be Haihayas, were probably connected with them. The most important family of these later Haihayas, namely the Kalacuris of Kalyāṇ were connected with the Kalacuris of the Cēdi family. The Kalacuris rose to power about A. D. 249 and held sway over a part of the Deccan including the western coast up to the country of Lāṭā. .

It is largely due to the influence of this family that many rulers of later times began to call themselves the Haihayas, especially when they migrated into a different region and there laid claims to great antiquity and nobility of birth after attaining a position of some influence.

A famous Telugu work called *Palnāṭi-vīra-caritamū* (The History of the Heroes of Palnāḍ) deals with another Haihaya family

in the Telugu country. It gives an account of their migration into the Telugu country; and this perhaps applies to the other Haihayas in that region. According to this account Anuguraja or Aluguraja had to leave his ancestral kingdom of Ayūdhya on a tour of pilgrimage with his family, friends and army, to seek relief from the innumerable sins of his ancestor, Kṛtavīrya, which beset him. A close examination of the Haihaya history has shown that they had nothing to do with Ayūdhya (the modern Oudh.) They were the Cedis already referred to, who ruled the extensive region to the south of Bundelkhand. The long Haihaya inscription at Bilvari and the Karambel inscription give the genealogy and many historical details about the Haihayas, and definitely show that they ruled the region on the banks of the Narmada, the traditional territory of Kṛtavīrya.

The reason for their migration has been suggested to be the Muslim onslaught. Smith says, "there is reason to believe that they were supplanted by the 'Bhagels of Rewa'". This does not however, explain the migration of Anugu since the Palnad War must have taken place between A. D. 1176 and 1182; and consequently the Haihayas must have settled down in the Telugu country long before this date. Besides, it is difficult to imagine that the Haihayas who had been supplanted at home could have marched with their army right across the Western Chōlukya kingdom and the rising Kṛtāṭiya kingdom in order to settle down in a small territory under the suzerainty of the Velanāḍu chiefs. Anugu could not have had much importance on the banks of the Narmada, though, after acquiring a position of authority in the partly secluded and somewhat inaccessible region of Palanāḍu he claimed to have been a Haihaya king of importance. The only point of interest is that these traditional accounts suggest that there was a migration of people in one or more groups from the North in search of homes.

The Haihayas were not very particular of caste regulations and intermarried freely with the Sindas, although they claimed to be Kṣatriyas. In fact they were touchy on the question of the origin of "Heroes"; and several features of their Social Life are unconventional and objectionable when compared with Aryan ideas. Can it not be correct, therefore, if we deduce from the above that these Haihayas were really the descendants of some non-Aryan tribe with pre-Aryan or non-Aryan customs which persisted in spite of long contact with Aryans and Aryan culture? The tradition

about Anugu-r-ja migrating with family, friends and army suggests a nomadic society, and it was probably this state of comparative insecurity that developed in them a necessity for *Dual Kingship*. We see something almost approaching this during the early stages of Vijayanagara history, when, for all practical purposes there were two rulers in the same territory, namely Harihara I and Bukka I. Such a tendency arising out of emergency is likely to become permanent and assume the character of an institution in a state of society different from that under Vijayanagara. There is no evidence to show that the Indian Aryans ever developed such an institution. So we must seek for its origin in pre-Aryan political institutions of India.

BATTLE OF TOPUR—SOME INACCURACIES.

Prof. K. SITRAMAIYA, M.A., NIZAM COLLEGE.

Prof. Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachariar has contributed an interesting paper entitled "*A Great Maharatta Service to South in Pre-Sivaji Epoch*", to the SARDESAI MEMORIAL VOLUME, 1938. Therein the learned professor refers to the services rendered to the kingdoms of South India by Shaji father of Sivaji at the bidding of his master and overlord, the Sultan of Bijapur and expresses the opinion that battle of Topur was the cause of the internal disputes and civil wars among the kingdoms of South India. Thus he writes:

"In the civil war that followed the death of Venkata, Yachama Naick who championed the cause of the legitimate heir Ranga and was supported only by Achuta Naick of Tanjore and his son Raghunatha, against Jaggaraya and almost all the feudatories of the Empire, the former or the legitimate party was defeated in a great battle at Topur near the Grand anicut on the Coleroon. In this battle the Nayaka of Jinjee and Madura fell on the field and the Portuguese contingent is said to have taken the side of Jaggaraya according to the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*" (p. 74).

In the above statement all the facts are incorrect except the one that the Portuguese rendered assistance to Jaggaraya.¹ These events have been discussed by me in my *Tanjāvuri-Andhranāyaka-rāi-charitra*. (pp. 209-210).² Prof. Srinivasachariar's views on the battle of Topur, may be summarised thus: (1) That Ranga was the legitimate or rightful heir to the throne of the Vijayanagra Empire and that the battle of Topur was fought for the purpose of placing him on the throne; (2) that the rightist party was defeated in the battle and (3) that the Nayakas of Jinjee and Madura fell on the battlefield.

The purpose of this short paper is to point out that the above three conclusions are utterly incorrect. Prof. Srinivasachariar tells us that the authority for his information is the work *Raghunāthābhyudayam*. Let us examine the source from which he draws the information. There are two works of the name *Raghunāthābhyudayam*: one is a drama (*Nāṭaka*) in Telugu written by Ragunatha's son

1. *History of the Nayaks of Madura*. p. 124.

2. *History of the Andhra nayak kings of Tanjore* (Telugu).

Vijaya-Raghava and the other is a *kāvya* in Sanskrit, composed by Rāmabhadramba, a poetess of the court of Raghunatha. Prof. Srinivasachair has not stated from which of these two works that he has obtained the information. Let us however examine both the authorities and see if these works support the conclusions so deliberately put forward by the learned Professor.

The *Raghunāthabhyudaya (nataka)* describes the setting out for the battle of Topur thus:—

“Having sounded the kettle-drums, and in the manner of going out for the wedding, and having informed the *pāṭṭas* (hamlets) ahead, of his approach.”

“Surrounded by vassal kings, tributaries, captains and loads of realms on their horses, and having mounted royal elephant, that prince R madevarāya arrived.”

From the above passage it is clear that the name of the rightful heir to the Vijayanagar Empire was R madevaraya. It was to reinstate him on the throne that the battle of Topur was fought by Achyuta and his son Raghunatha of Tanjore. This is not all. There was no prince named Ranga alive at that time statement Prof. Srinivasachariar, that the battle of Topur was fought to reinstate him is also incorrect statement. Rangaraya was actually slain at night treacherously in cold blood with all his family in his own palace by Jaggarāya, and his younger son was saved by a clever device and protected by Yachama Nayaka. The young prince that escaped brutal death at the hands of Jaggaraya was R madeva mentioned above. This is what the *Raghunāthabhyudaya-kavya* of Rāmabhadramba states.

त्रिज्जो पदं श्रयति वैरुद्रदेवराय सर्वेन्द्रियचक्रिण युवराजभूनुम्

मद्भासने तदनु मुमरनाय पूर्ण श्रीरंगरायनृपक्षेत्रमभ्यर्षिचन् ।

* * * * *
 सानुजो निशि स जगमहशिः पार्थिवस्यभवनं परिवेष्ट्य
 भृपतिं तदनु पुत्रकलत्रैः निर्घृणो निहत मातनुतेस्म ॥
 तनयेषु नृपालकस्य कंचित् शिशुसप्तो रजस्तमेयशीघ्रम् ।
 अत्रप्रमगद्वह्निशिखीं अपि वैरिनं शिपनामशिलक्ष्यन् ॥

Sarga VIII, Slokas 26—32.

These facts are also clearly mentioned by the author of the *Sahityaravachana*:

स्वाश्रितो जगन्नाथस्त्वितिः कैश्चिद्वैरायकानामभूत्
 सेवाभ्यासेनाशु सेनासनाथः शुभं रात्रौ सो वधीयुमितिः ॥
 * * * *

हतेपि कर्णाट नृपेस्हात्मजैः ततोवशिष्टं पृथुकं तदात्मजम् ।
 कनष्टुपाया दपहं यन्नतः कथंचिदायाति स याचमभूपतिः ॥

Sarga VIII Slokas 74—77.

From the above it is obvious that after the death of the Emperor Venkatapati, Ranga was crowned and that the latter was killed in cold blood at night by Jaggaraya and that the younger son of Ranga was rescued by a washerman. Rangaraya therefore was not alive on the date of the battle of Topur and he was not also the legitimate heir who was to be reinstated, but his young son whom the *Raghunāthābhyudaya-nāka* calls by the name Rama-devaraya.

Prof. Srinivasachariar also states that the legitimate party was defeated. It was not the rightful heir's party that was defeated; on the contrary it was the opposing party led by Jaggaraya that was defeated in the battle. The third conclusion of the Professor that the Nayaks of Jinjee and Madura who fought on the side of the traitor Jaggaraya fell on the battlefield in a way contradicts the Professor's assertion that the legitimate party was either destroyed or defeated. It is not stated by the learned writer what became of Jaggaraya and his other confederates, after the battle. The following extracts show that the Nayaks of Jinjee and Madura were not slain on the field but that Jaggaraya alone was killed.

अग्रे योवै रच्युतक्षमाय सूतोः क्रोधावेशाद्भुजैः कुंतजालैः ।
 अश्रयन्नाणो बन्धुवर्गेणसाकं जन्यक्षेत्र्या जगजरजः पयात ॥

Raghunāthābhyudaya (Kāvya) Sarga X, Sloka 28.

బ్రమసిన పడమటి పా శేంబుమీద
 దుమికి.....
 కత్తులచే చీకాకు చేయింప
 పోరిలో సమసె గొబ్బురి జగ్గరాజు

Again,

“మధురవారిని గూర్చి యమ్మిరిచేసె
 విధియంచు తనపాలి విధి దూరొనచు
 దొరి తెల్ల నన్నగ తుండీవిభుడు
 పరువెత్తె తన జూడవట్టణాబుసకు.
 “తననద్ది దొరితెల్ల తనడించి పాన
 ఇంతుల నెడరాసి యిలుచూడ యిచ్చి
 సంతరించిన బాక సము వేడబుచ్చి
 తురిగంబు డిగ్గి కైదున పారనైచి
 విరిగి పారవొడంగె మీసవేంకట”

Raghunāthābhyaṣya—Nāṣaka

‘स्कंधावारे गन्धनागाद्वयं चान् योपास्त्रद्रव्यभूषाविशेषान् ।
 पाण्ड्यस्यक्त्वा प्राणभित्तासमित्यां धीमान् क्रौरं प्राद्रुशीर्दीनदीनः ॥
 “तुण्डीराणामीशिता दुर्गेयेन प्रापय्यैनं पाण्ड्यमयंतभंगम् ।
 सद्योधावत्तेन साकं रणोर्व्या अप्रसैन्यं हास्यमानोस्तलजम् ॥

Raghunāthābhyaṣya-kavya Sarga X Slokas 35—36.

The above extracts show that the lords of Paṇḍya (Madura) and Tuṇḍīra (Jinjee) fled from the battlefield. It was Jaggaraya or Gobburī Jaggaraju that died on the battlefield. The Nayaks of Madura and Jinjee were the allies of Jaggaraya and the cause espoused by Jaggaraya was not that of the rightful heir Ramadēva-
 raya but that of another scion who was sought to be placed on the imperial throne as a protege by Jaggaraya. It is therefore clear that Jaggaraya and his allies were defeated and that Achyuta and Raghunatha the supporters of the rightful heir were the victors in that decisive battle.

I give two more extracts to show that the Nayaks of Madura and Jinjee did not perish on the battle-field. The *Raghunāthābhya-*

daya (*kāvya*) states that Raghunātha pardoned the lord of Paṇḍya kingdom. The Nayak of Madura at this period was Muthu Virappa.

धीरोदात्तो दीनरक्षाधुरीणः सद्योभूपस्यह्यकन्यातटाग्रे

श्रीढांकीर्तिं प्राप्नुकामो व्यातानीत् पांड्यक्षोणीपालक प्राणदानम् ॥

Raghunāthābhyudaya-kāvya, Sarga X, Ślōka 61.

Another Telugu *kāvya* of the period claims for Yachama Nayak the glory of slaying Jaggarāya and the overpowering of the Nayaks of Madura and Jinjee.

మున్నె తోపురం జగ్గరాజ్యముల నొంచి

చుడువొర, జెండుమన్నీని చుడచుడచి

పొంచివాడలిదొంగ రోలు తేజముగల

మేలి నెలునోటి చుడచి సాటిగలచె!

Bahulāsvacharitam.

I have shown that Prof. Srinivasachariar's assertions about the battle of Topur are utterly incorrect from the authorities which are unimpeachable. It seems to me that the Professor has drawn his conclusions basing his authority on a book which he never apparently read or consulted.

In the same Memorial Volume appears an article "Ramarya and Vijayanagar" written by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar (p.205). All the points brought out by me in the preceding paragraphs are supported by that learned writer. I make no apology to quote below from him.

"When Viceroy Rama the elder brother of Venkata died, Venkata sent the elder of the two sons to succeed his father and kept the younger called Ranga or Sriranga to succeed him. * * * It is a massacre of the royal family that precipitated the war, Jaggaraya having ordered the wholesale murder in cold blood of Ranga and all his family. Before the day appointed for the purpose Yachama Naika managed cleverly to secure the possession of one of the sons of Ranga, his second son by name Rania who was about ten or twelve ... as the arrangement was for a washerman to smuggle the boy out of the fort ... After a number of skirmishes, the war was ultimately decided by the battle of Topur, the village now being called Tohur, quite close to the Grand Anicut on the southern banks of the Cauveri. The battle went against the allies, Jagga fell in battle....." (pp. 204-205).

AN INSCRIPTION OF VIRACHODA AT MUKHALINGAM

B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L.

This important inscription in Telugu characters is to be found on a pillar to the left of the entrance into the central shrine in the temple of Mukhalingēśvara (Madhukēśvara) temple at Mukhalingam, Parlakimedi taluk, Ganjam district and has been published as No. 1005 in Vol. 5 of the *South Indian Inscriptions* (Texts).

TEXT

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śakavarṣa 10(2)4 nēṇṭi Śīm-ā
- 2 nantavarmacēva(ra) pravardhamā-
- 3 na vijayatājya saṁvatsa (3)8• nēm-(nē)-
- 4 nṭi Viṣu saṁkrānti-nāṇḍu Śrī Ma-
- 5 dbukēśvara-cēvaraku (Vi)-rachō
- 6 dadēvara Nakarapuvāḍi
- 7 pura (ūri)-vāk-ḷi uttaramunan-(cā)-
- 8 chandrākka-sthāyigam beṭṭa naivēdya-
- 9 bhūmi puṭṭu 8 ||

TRANSLATION

“Hail! In the Śaka year 10(2)4, augmenting and victorious the (3)8th year of the glorious king Anantavarmadeva, at the time of *Viṣu Saṁkrānti*, king Virachōḍa registered a gift of 8 puzies of land, at the city of Nakara, on the northern side, near the city-gate for the daily *naivēdya* (offering) to the deity Madhukēśvara, which was to last as long as the sun, moon and stars endure.”

The date of the record is read by the epigraphist Rao Bahadur H. Krishnasastri incorrectly. If the Saka year was 1024 it could not be the 38th year of Anantavarman-Choḍaganga. The king's accession would seem to have taken place in S. 997. So both the Saka year and the regnal year readings seem to be incorrect. There are no records to show that Virachōḍa lived till S. 1024 or beyond. The Saka year doubtless reads as 1014 and that year was the 18th year of Anantavarman. Krishna Sastri's reading of the regnal year as (3)8 is not supported by the writing on the stone. What is actually (1)8 had been incorrectly read as (3)8. From this inscription, therefore, it appears that Virachōḍa was in Kalinganagara at the time of *Viṣu* (i. e., Tula) Saṁkrānti, S. 1014 corresponding to about September 26, 1092 A.D.

PALLAVA NANDIVARMAN I AND DRISHTIYISHĀ

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.,
University of Madras.

Very little is known about the reign of Nandivarman I with whom the first dynasty of the Pallava kings that ruled in Kāñchī came to an end. The Udayēndiram Plates, the only record of his reign that has come down to posterity, give an account of his lineage. He was the great-grandson of Skandavarman, the grandson of Siṃhavarman, and the son of Skandavarman; and he ruled subsequent to them at Kāñchī, his ancestral capital.¹ As the inscription is dated in the first year of Nandivarman's reign, it has, naturally, very little to tell us about his achievements. The late Dr. Kielhorn who re-edited these plates in *Epigraphia Indica* expresses the opinion that they are not genuine. Though he assigns them on palaeographical grounds to a later period than the Uruvupalli grant, he declares that they are spurious: "I, myself, am of opinion," says he, "that the present inscription must, on palaeographical grounds, be assigned to a later period than the Uruvupalli grant; and, considering it suspicious that, at different periods, there should have been two Pallava princes, whose fathers and great grandfathers were called Skandavarman and that, moreover, two sets of four consecutive princes should have been described in almost identical terms, and taking also into account the extreme slovenliness of the wording of Nandivarman's grant, I cannot suppress the belief that this grant may be a spurious document, the writer of which took for his model either the Uruvupalli grant of Yuva-mahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman itself or some other *praśasti* of the same prince".² Dr. Fleet has accepted this opinion without comment.³ The objections brought forward by Dr. Kielhorn are not valid. Had he taken into consideration the Hindu practice of naming the children after their grand-parents and the existence of family *praśastis* in the royal archives on which each prince modelled his charters, Kielhorn would not have regarded the identity of the names of parents and grand-parents and the similarity of the phraseology as serious objections against the genuineness of the

1 *I. A.*, VIII, p. 168.

2 *E. I.* III, p. 144.

3 *I. A.*, XXX, p. 215.

record. Slovenliness on the part of the engraver, and the negligence of the writer are not necessarily the hall-marks of spuriousness. The similarity of the phraseology between the Udayēndiram and the Uruvupalli records noticed by Kielhorn points out, on the contrary, that Nandivarman I and Y.M. Vishṇugōpavarman belonged to the same family; and that the alphabet of the Udayēndiram plates, which, notwithstanding their close affinity to those of the Uruvupalli grant, exhibit characteristics of greater development, show that Nandivarman lived later than the time of Y. M. Vishṇugōpavarman, though they could not have been very far removed from each other. Dr. Fleet places the Uruvupalli grant in the fifth century A.D., and, therefore, the Udayēndiram plates must be assigned to the beginning of the next century.

Apart from the general grounds indicated above, there is ample evidence to show that the information conveyed by the Udayēndiram plates is quite genuine and that the kings mentioned in the inscription did actually rule at Kāñchī during the fifth century of the Christian era. The Penugonḍa plates of Mādhava II which Dr. Fleet assigns to the latter half of the fifth century A.D., mention two consecutive Pallava monarchs, Siṃhavarman and Skandavarman, who ruled, in all probability, at Kāñchī in the fifth century.⁴ According to the *Lōkavibhāga*, an early Jaina work which was translated into Sanskrit by Sarvanandin about the middle of the fifth century A. D., the twenty-second regnal year of a Pallava king of Kāñchī called Siṃhavarman corresponds to Śaka 380, i. e. 458 A. D.⁵ The Uruvupalle grant of Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman, the affinity of which to the Udayēndiram plates has already been noticed, is dated in the 11th regnal year of a king called Siṃhavarman. Since Y. M. Vishṇugōpavarman held the office of Yuvamahārāja at the time of the grant, the Siṃhavarman in whose 11th regnal year it was dated must have been the king of the Pallavas and he must have been related to Viṣṇugōpa as father or elder brother. As it is known from the Uruvupalli grant that Vishṇugōpavarman was the son of Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman could not have been his father. It follows from this that Siṃhavarman under whom Y. M. Vishṇugōpavarman held the office of Yuvārāja must have been the latter's elder brother. This is corroborated by the evidence of the Western Gaṅga inscriptions of the period. Āryavarman, the son⁶ of Mādhava who flourished during the

⁴ *E. I.*, XIV, p. 336; *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 472.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

first half of the fifth century A. D., had two sons, Mādhava II *alias* Siṃhavarman, and Viṣṇugōpavarman.⁶ The Penugonḍa Plates explicitly state that Āryavarman was installed on his throne by the Pallava king Siṃhavarman; and he gave to his two sons the names of Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugōpavarman in honour of his Pallava overlord and his younger brother respectively. Therefore, the rule of the king called Siṃhavarman and Skandavarman, the son and grandson respectively of Skandavarman is borne out by the testimony of contemporary records. Now, the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates of Nandivarman III refer to Nandivarman I as one of the immediate predecessors of Siṃhavishṇu.⁷ The Vāyalūr Pillar inscription of the time of Rājasiṃha refers to the four kings, Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman and Nandivarman, mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates in the same order.⁸ There is therefore no reason for entertaining doubts regarding the genuineness of the Udayēndiram plates or the authenticity of the information furnished by them.

The information that has come down to posterity about the reign of Nandivarman is indeed scanty; nothing is said of him in the inscriptions of his successors. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, however, allude to an incident which is said to have taken place during his reign. Nandivarman, according to this record, caused a *Phaṇḍra* (Nāga king) called Dṛishṭivisha to dance before him by the grace of the God Pinākapāṇi (i. e., Siva).⁹ Although Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, the editor of this inscription, translates the term Dṛishṭivishaḥ as a 'powerful snake whose poison was in its eyes',¹⁰ he draws attention to the historical significance of the allusion in a footnote. He points out that the influence of the Nāgas, who were the original rulers of Southern India, continued down to the time of Nandivarman. "In later times", he adds, "the Sindas of Yelburga and Chhindas of Bastar traced their origin to the serpents (Nāgas)"¹¹ It must be noted here that besides the families mentioned by Krishna Sastri, the Sindas of Sindavādi also derived the origin of

6 I follow the genealogy adopted by Rao Bahadur C.R. Krishnamacharlu in his recent article on the Sasankodja Plates of the Ganga king Maḍhavavarman (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 237), as it appears to be correct and reasonable.

7 *S.I.I.*, II, Part iv, p. 510.

8 Jouveau-Dubreuil: *The Pallavas*, p. 20.

9 *S.I.I.*, II, p. 508.

"*Anugrahād=yēna Pinākapāṇēḥ pranartitō Dṛishṭivishaḥ= Phaṇḍraḥ*"

10 *Ibid.*, p. 510.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 503, n. 5.

their family to the snakes or the Nāgas. The reference to the Sindas in this connection is, indeed, very helpful, as it indicates the direction in which we have to seek for further information about Dṛishṭivisha. A late fragmentary record of the 12th or 13th century of a Sinda prince whose name is unfortunately lost mentions a chief called Dṛishṭivisha as the progenitor of his family.¹² As no serpent of the name of Dṛishṭivisha is known to mythology, it is not unlikely that the ancestor of the Sinda prince under consideration was not a denizen of the *Nāgalōka* or the serpent-world but a historical person, perhaps identical with the Nāga chief Dṛishṭivisha whom Nandivarman I is said to have brought under his control.

If the identification suggested above is not contrary to reason, an attempt may now be made to envisage the circumstances in which Nandivarman I came into conflict with Dṛishṭivisha, who was evidently the ruler of Sindavāḍi, a district which was situated on the frontier between the Pallava and the Kadamba dominions at this time.¹³ The conflict between Nandivarman I and Dṛishṭivisha was very probably an offshoot of the frequent Pallava-Kadamba wars that seem to have been a characteristic feature of the political life of South India during the fifth and the sixth centuries of the Christian era. The Kadamba territories originally formed an integral part of the Pallava kingdom. They were bestowed by one of the early Pallava kings of Kāñchī during the fourth century A. D. on the Brāhman general Mayūraśarman as an appanage for services rendered in the field.¹⁴ Kṛishṇavarman I one of the descendants of Mayūraśarman declared his independence, and made an unsuccessful attempt to shake off the Pallava yoke about the middle of the fifth century A. D.; but he suffered defeat and his army was destroyed by the Pallava chief Nāṇakkāsa.¹⁵ The Pallavas did not however annex the Kadamba territories owing probably to considerations of policy. The Kadamba dominions which were situated in the extreme north-west of Pallava kingdom could not be easily controlled from Kāñchī in the remote south-east.

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Moreover, Vishṇuvarman, son of Krishṇavarman, who was perhaps discontented with his father fled from his court, and entered the service of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman.¹⁶ He was naturally desirous to be recognised as his father's successor. Therefore, it was decided that Vishṇuvarman should be placed on the throne of his father; in accordance with this decision the Pallava Mahārāja Śāntivara or Śāntivara-Varman, accompanied him, and with the help probably of the Western Ganga king Āryavarman subdued the Kadamba territories and crowned Vishṇuvarman as the king of his ancestral dominions.¹⁷ Viṣṇuvarman seems to have ruled for five years in peace, when his authority was challenged by Mṛigēśavarman, the son of Kadamba Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kākūsthavarman. In the inscriptions dated in the 4th and 7th regnal years of Mṛigēśavarman's reign, it is said that he obtained sovereignty by the strength of his own arm in the great stress of war.¹⁸ Evidently Mṛigēśa had little or no power at the beginning of his reign; and he had to fight hard to establish his sovereignty. The enemies whom he overcame in the war are mentioned in an inscription of his eighth year. In the Halsi plates dated in that year, it is stated that he uprooted the family of the powerful Gaṅgas and was a fire of destruction of the Pallavas;¹⁹ It is obvious that Mṛigēśa had to contend against the forces of the Pallavas and the Gangas who appear to have joined together to oppose him. Though he claims victory over them, he did not completely succeed in his attempt to overthrow Viṣṇuvarman and put an end to the Pallava domination; and it is not unlikely that during the last years of his reign, he even lost his hold on Vaijayanti; for, his son and successor Ravivarman was ruling from Palāsika in the early years of his reign, and Vaijayanti is not mentioned in the inscriptions dated before his fifth year.²⁰ Though Mṛigēśa died while the struggle with the Pallavas was still raging, the latter did not gain

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17 *MAR.*, 1925, p. 98; *JMU.*, XI, p. 234.

18 *I.A.*, VI, p. 37.

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their family to the snakes or the Nāgas. The reference to the Sindas in this connection is, indeed, very helpful, as it indicates the direction in which we have to seek for further information about Dṛishṭivisha. A late fragmentary record of the 12th or 13th century of a Sinda prince whose name is unfortunately lost mentions a chief called Dṛishṭivisha as the progenitor of his family.¹² As no serpent of the name of Dṛishṭivisha is known to mythology, it is not unlikely that the ancestor of the Sinda prince under consideration was not a denizen of the *Nāgalōka* or the serpent-world but a historical person, perhaps identical with the Nāga chief Dṛishṭivisha whom Nandivarman I is said to have brought under his control.

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any decisive advantage thereby. Ravivarman defeated the Pallava king Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, and put to death his cousin Viṣṇuvarman within a few years of his accession, and established his supremacy over the entire Kadamba kingdom.²¹ Chaṇḍadaṇḍa has been identified by Sewell with Skandavarman, son of Siṃhavarman I.²² This, however, cannot be accepted, as there are valid grounds for believing that Viṣṇuvarman lived a generation before Skandavarman's rule; for, in the first place, he is mentioned in the Uruvupalli grant dated in the 11th year of Siṃhavarman's reign, as an officer in the service of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman;²³ and secondly, like the Western Ganga king Āryavarman, he had a son called Siṃhavarman whom he very probably named after his Pallava overlord as a mark of his loyalty. It is therefore likely that Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the ally of Viṣṇuvarman, was identical with Siṃhavarman himself rather than with his son. If this identification commends itself to reason, the defeat of Chaṇḍadaṇḍa and the death of Viṣṇuvarman must be placed about 460 A. D.²⁴ Ravivarman had a long and prosperous

21 I.A., VI, p. 29.

Śrī Viṣṇuvarma-prabhṛit n = narēndrān
 nihatya jītvā prithivī-samastīm =
 utsādyā Kāñch = śvara-Chaṇḍadaṇḍam
 Palāsikāyām sam = avasthitas = saḥ.

22 *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 19.

23 I.A., V, p. 50.

24 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, in his article on the Sangoli Plates expresses the opinion that Harivarman, the son of Ravivarman, ascended the throne in 538 A.D. (*E.I.*, XVI, pp. 165-66), thereby suggesting that his father who preceded him in the government of the kingdom, and who, according to the Sirsi plates ruled, if Sukthankar's reading of the date is correct, for 35 years commenced his reign in 503 A. D. He attempts to strengthen his position by pressing into service the Madhavavarman-Kṛṣṇavarman synchronism mentioned in the Western Ganga copper-plates. He identifies Madhavavarman who was, according to the Ganga copper-plates mentioned above, a sister's husband of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman with Madhava II *alias* Siṃhavarman of the Penukonda plates which Dr. Fleet assigns to 475 A. D., and draws therefrom the inference that Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman, the first king of that name, lived also at this time. He assigns Santivarman whom he takes to have been Kṛṣṇavarman's elder brother to 470 A. D.; and Harivarman, a great-grandson of the former, to 545 A. D.; which, according to him, coincides with the latest of the three dates (A. D. 507, 526, 545) suggested by the astronomical details furnished in the Sangoli plates.

The date assigned by Mr. Dikshit to the Sangoli plates, it must be pointed out, depends on two assumptions: (i) that Harivarman ruled in the sixth century A.D., and (ii) that Madhava II of the Penukonda plates was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇavarman I. Both these assumptions are arbitrary. In the first place, there is no

(Footnote continued on next page.)

reign; and after the death of Vishṇuvarman and the defeat of Chāṇḍaḍaṇḍa he seems to have met with little or no opposition. Siṅghavarman, son of Vishṇuvarman, does not seem to have done anything to restore the fortunes of his family; and the Pallavas showed no disposition to interfere in the affairs of the Kadambas. On the death of Ravivarman, he was succeeded by his son Harivarman who ruled for a period of eight years. His authority was then overthrown by Kṛishṇavarman II, the son of Siṅghavarman mentioned above; probably with the help of the Gangas and the Pallavas. He was holding the district of Vallavi (Tumkur) at the beginning of his reign;²⁵ but some time after his seventh regnal year, he set out on an expedition to conquer the kingdom of Vaijayanti;²⁶ and granted to a Brahman a village in the Sēndraka Vishaya. It is interesting to note that Bh nuśakti, the chief of the Sēndrakas, figures as a subordinate of Harivarman in the Halsi plates II dated in his fifth regnal year.²⁷ The presence of Kṛishṇavarman in the Sēndraka-Vishaya during the course of his expedition against Vaijayanti, and the granting of a village included in the district to a Brahman points unmistakably to its subjugation by him. The Sirsi plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Kṛishṇavarman II clearly show that he succeeded in capturing Vaijayanti.²⁸

The circumstances in which Kṛishṇavarman managed to overthrow the authority of Harivarman who until his fifth year appears to have been the master of his territories are not known. Though Kṛishṇavarman had very little power at the commencement of his reign, he had valuable allies. The Ganga-Pallava combination which helped his grandfather was still ready to take up his cause. He was related

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

evidence to show that Harivarman ruled in the 6th century A.D. The evidence palaeography by which alone the date of this inscription has to be decided is no conclusive. The characters of the Sangolli plates resemble those of the inscriptions of Mrigēsa and Ravi; and it is not possible to fix the date of Harivarman definitely with the help of palaeography. Secondly, Madhava who married the sister Kadamba-Kṛishṇavarman was different from Madhava II of the Penukoṇḍa plates. He was the son of Vishṇugopavarman, and grandson of Harivarman and he belonged to a generation later than Madhava II of the Penukoṇḍa plates. The Kadamba prince Kṛishṇavarman whose sister he married must be identified with Kṛishṇavarman II, who overthrew the authority of Harivarman and occupied Vaijayanti, and not with his great-grandfather, Kṛishṇavarman I.

²⁵ *E.I.*, VI, p. 17.

²⁶ *E.C.*, V, Bl. 245. "Vaijayanti-vijaya-yātrām abhiprasthitā", which Rice wrongly renders into English as 'setting out on an expedition from Vaijayanti'.

²⁷ *I.A.*, VI, pp. 31-32.

²⁸ *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 216 f.

to the Ganga royal family, his sister having married Vishṇugōpa the younger brother of Mādḥava II-Simhavarman of the Penukoṇḍa plates. Nandivarman I who succeeded Skandavarman at Kañichī by this time was not perhaps unwilling to offer his help, and re-establish the Pallava supremacy over the Kadamba country. A Pallava expedition was very probably despatched against Vaijayanti to assist Kṛishṇavarman II to re-establish his family in the ancestral capital; and it must have been on this occasion that Nandivarman subdued the frontier district of Sindavāḍi; and reduced its ruler Drishivisha to subjection.

THE YOGAVASISHTHA QUOTATIONS IN THE JIVANMUKTIVIVEKA OF VIDYARANYA

DR. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

One of the few well-known Vēdāntic works which make extensive use of the Yogavāsiṣṭha is the *Jīvanmuktivivēka* of Vidyāranya. Quotations of Vāsiṣṭha are not many in the Pañcadaśī; they are mostly anonymous citations as in XII. 83. IX, 3 and XIII, 83, but in some cases (XIII, 21—28), Vāsiṣṭha is mentioned. Owing to the perplexing condition of the textual materials pertaining to Yogavāsiṣṭha literature, it is necessary to examine the large number of the Vāsiṣṭha citations in the *JMV*. Vidyāranya makes both long and short quotations, and he sometimes intersperses the verses with his comments. An examination of the quotations show that, except in a few cases, the *JMV* quotes all through from the *Laghuyōga Vāsiṣṭha* of Abhinanda. The following is a table of the quotations with their identifications. The editions referred to are the Anandāśrama edition of the *JMV* and the Nirṇayasāgar Press edition of the *LYV* of 1937.

JMV	LYV	JMV	LYV
pp.		pp.	
147-160	II. 1. 1-17	252	IV. 5. 21, 22, 23
167-176	III. 1. 88-100	256-7	V. 1. 39, 41, 42, 49
202	V. 10. 116, 115, 117	266-7	V. 1. 90-100
233-4	V. 10. 118, 119, 113, 106 <i>a-b</i> 110 <i>c-d</i>	267	V. 10. 107 <i>c-d</i> ; 108 <i>a-b</i> ; V. 10. 10 1 <i>c-d</i> ; 102 <i>a</i> and 102 <i>d</i>
205	V. 10. 111, 112		
207	II. 1. 107	270	V. 3. 50, 52
„	V. 10. 114	272	?
209	III. 2. 108, 111, 110, 112	„	III. 1. 92
221	III. 1. 98	„	V. 2. 36
235	V. 10. 48-51	„	IV. 5. 26-29
236	I. 1. 10, 11, 12	„	V. 6. 70
248	V. 2. 42.	„	?
250	?	273	IV. 2. 14, 15
251	V. 6. 17, 19, 18, 20, 21	„	IV. 5. 42
„	IV. 5. 20	„	IV. 5. 43-45 first line. (second line ab- sent in <i>YV</i> & <i>LYV</i>)

JMV	LYV	JMV	LYV
PP.		PP.	
273-4	V. 1. 60-64	298	V. 10. 6
280	V. 1. 53-55	299-300	V. 6. 29, 35-32,
„	IV. 4. 1-5		109-115
„	IV. 2. 23, 22	305	V. 3. 36-38
281	IV. 2. 18-20	309	V. 9. 72
„	V. 5. 92	„	V. 1. 60
282	V. 10. 126, 127 (first half only), 128-131	318	IV. 5. 37-40, 35
		319	VI. 9. 447-450
283	V. 10. 38, 40 (first half)	„	V. 4. 92-93, 106-107
	41 (second half)	321	V. 10. 15, 16, 18, 19c
284	?		and 22d, 20-22 (23a-b
„	V. 10. 53		left out), 23-24, 24-25,
284-85	V. 10. 65, 64		(25b left out) 26, 27, 32.
285	V. 10, 122, 123, 121	322	III. 9. 126
„	V. 10. 57, 54, 55	326-7	I. 3. 17-18, 43-46, 47-53
„	VI. 2. 18	345-6	III. 9. 13-23
288	?	346-7	VI. 15. 70-71 b, 73-75,
291	VI. 1. 211, 216		76, 77, 79
297	V. 10. 1	349-50	VI. 15. 57-61
„	V. 10. 6 b	354	VI. 16. 34
298	V. 10. 2 (second half only) 3, 4, 5, 7, 9	358	V. 1. 9-11; V. 2. 36;
„	IV. 5. 34	360	II. 1. 62, 66
„	V. 9. 66, 67	363	V. 7. 5-9, 24, 10-11
			VI. 14. 1-6

It can be seen that I could not identify just five quotations. The identifications disclose these facts:

1. Vidyāraṇya's quotations do not have the verses in the same order as in the *LYV* in some cases; earlier verses occur later and distant verses are put together, the interlying verses being left out.

2. A single unit of quotation contain verses belonging to different chapters.

3. Verses are made by joining halves and quarters of different verses: on p. 267, the *JMV* (in the last quotation) makes two verses out of *LYV* V. 10. 7 second half and 8 first half and *LYV* V. 10. 101 second half and 102 first quarter and 102 last quarter. On p. 297 of *JMV*, *LYV* V. 10. 1 is first quoted, it is followed by the first line of V. 10. 2 to which is added a second

line the former part of which is not found in the LYV or the YV and the latter part of which is the second quarter of V. 10. 6. Similarly on p. 32; here the quotation is made out of LYV V. 10. 15, 16 (17 left out), 18 a-o, 19 a with the last quarter made out of 19c and 21d.

This analysis would dispose one to think that Vidyāranya is citing from a text which is a further condensation of Abhinanda's LYV. But this conclusion does not seem necessary. For, in some of his quotations Vidyāranya brings together on one idea verses found in different places; in such cases an 'Iti' marks off each set of quotations, as for instance on pp. 272, 298, 309. Some of the quotations in which we see long jumps may be due to scribes' omission of these 'Iti's. That such 'Iti's are sometimes omitted by the scribe is clear from a quotation on p. 359 of the JMV where two texts are quoted in a bloc from two different sources, with only one 'Iti' at the end, a circumstance which will mislead one to suppose that there are missing verses in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Such 'Iti's are possible on pp. 248, 358. Other cases of jump, short or long, are explainable by the possibility of Vidyāranya himself deliberately making the passages shorter for quotation purposes. If Vidyāranya did attempt at such brevity for quotation purposes, we can understand why he made also verses out of distant *Pādas* and *Ardhas* of different verses. The change in verse-order may also have been done to suit his needs. The above explanations are resorted to because in all the cases except those noted above, the quotations agree completely with the LYV regarding the verses and their order.

In his remark on the very first Vāsis̥ha quotation in the JMV, Acyutarāya Moḥaka says that Vidyāranya is quoting from the *Madhyarāsis̥ha*. According to Acyutarāya the YV is *Bṛhad Vāsis̥ha*, Abhinanda's condensation is *Madhya Vāsis̥ha* and perhaps the *Laghu Vāsis̥ha* will be the condensation in ten chapters on which Mahīdhara has commented. The second quotation (p. 167) is also identified by Moḥaka as from the *Madhya Vāsis̥ha*. The third instalment of quotation on p. 202 has this introductory remark of Vidyāranya "अतएव वा रा अवसाने." These verses however occur not at the end of the *Vāsis̥ha*, but at the end of the *Upasama prakarna* of the *Vāsis̥ha*. The editor points out that two Mss. read "वा रा उपशमे प्रकरणस्य अवसाने" In view of the quotations in the JMY from the VI, the *Nirvāṇa prakarna*, it is not possible to imagine that Vidyāranya's YV stopped with *Upasama*.

On p. 250 Vidyāranya quotes a line वाध्यबाध्यकता यान्ति कल्लोला इव सागरे with reference to the three *gunas*. Acyutarāya remarks that this is a quotation from the *Bṛhad* YV, but I am not able to verify this information.

The quotations on p. 282 are clumsy, as Acyutarāya also points out. An explanation which strikes me is that the portion from मनो विलयहेतुनाम् to मनस्तेन विलीयते must be part of the *JMV* forming a metrical *Avatārika* for the quotation from the LYV. The prose *Avatārika* now found here अत एव वसिष्ठ आह will have to be removed. वसिष्ठेन कृतं etc. in the midst of the passage is otherwise not explainable and these lines occur neither in the LYV nor in the YV.

The question of these quotations in the *JMV* is further complicated by examples of interpolated additional quotations, which the editor has noted on pp. 298, 822, 346 and 354.

As I have mentioned, I am unable to locate in the LYV or in any of the likely places in the YV five quotations in the *JMV*, the first of which is from the YV according to Acyutarāya. These five quotations are on pp. 250, 272, 288 and 346. Instead of assuming that Vidyāranya quotes from the *Bṛhad* Y. V. also, one can justifiably assume that there are omissions in the N.S. Press text of the LYV. Certainly the N. S. Press text is defective in many respects.

READINGS

The N. S. Press text of the LYV, like that of YV of the same press, has many mistakes. In some cases, we can correct the YV with the aid of the LYV. And in both the YV and the LYV correct readings are found in the commentaries though the editors have not seen this fact. A work like the *JMV* which quotes profusely can also be used for collation purposes. The *JMV* offers a number of different readings. I note here the readings according to the N. S. Press edition of the LYV and the *JMV*.

	LYV	JMV
II	1 सर्वदा सर्वमेवेह	• सर्वमेव हि सदा
"	4 तथैव तिष्ठामि मुने	मुने तथैव तिष्ठामि
"	7 तत्क्रमेण शुभेनैव	तत्क्रमेणाशु नैव (besides the other reading which is found in one Ms.)
"	10 अवतारयेत्	अवतारय

LYV

JMV

II

13 प्रागभ्यासात्

प्रागभ्यासात्

(Ātmasukha notes both readings).

, , वासनोदयः

वासना उदयम् (P. 157)

16 निरोधिना

निराधिना (P. 160)

17 बुद्ध्या

शुद्धाया (f.n. Buddhya also p.160)

III

1

89 शास्त्रगया

शास्त्रजया (P. 167)

"

"

96 शान्तसंसारकल्लोलः

शान्तसंसारकलनः (P. 173)

"

"

, , सचिन्तः -निश्चिन्तः

सचित्तः -निश्चित्तः (P. 173)

"

"

99 वेतरः

नेतरः (P. 175)

V

10

116 समभ्यस्ताः

चिराभ्यस्ताः (P. 202)

"

"

, , फलदा मुनेः

फलदायिनः { (")
फलदा इमे

"

"

115 तत्त्वसंप्राप्तिः

पदसंप्राप्तिः (")

"

"

117 चिरमप्यलम्

चिरमप्यलम् { (")
चिरयत्नतः

"

"

, , संकीर्तिता इव

संकलिता इव (")

"

"

113 स्थितान्यतः

स्थितानि हि (P. 204)

"

"

111 न तावच्चित्तसंक्षयः

तावच्चित्तशमः कुतः (P. 205)

"

"

114 विवेकतः

विवेकिना (P. 207)

"

"

, , कृत्वा

त्यक्त्वा (P. 208)

III

2

108 तदभ्यासम्

ज्ञानाभ्यासम् (P. 209)

"

"

111 विदुः परे

विदुः परम् (")

"

"

110 ते ब्रह्माभ्यासिनः स्थिराः

तेऽप्यात्राभ्यासिनः स्थिताः (P. 209)

"

"

112 बलोदिता

घनोदिता { (P. 209)
नवोदिता

V

10

48 दृढभावनया

दृढभावनया { (P. 235)
दृढवासनया (The Second reading
must be rejected).

I

1

10 जन्मनो हेतुः

जन्महेतुस्स्यात् (P. 236)

"

"

11 पुनर्जन्मकरी

Same and { (")
जन्ममृत्युकरी

IV

5

17 श्वमांसेनेव पुक्कसी

सश्वमांसेव पुक्कसी (P. 248)

V

6

17 देहमात्रास्थया धिया

देहभावनया तथा (P. 251)

„	6	21 आश्वासेनेन	आस्थादानेन (P. 251) (The metaphor of snake makes this reading wrong).
IV	5	20 वासनाम्	वासनाः (P. 251)
„	„	21 विषयवासिताः *1	विषयवासनाः (P. 252)
„	„	23 अथ परित्यज्य *1	अन्तः परित्यज्य („)
IV	5	23 स्थिरसमाधानः	स्थिरसमासीनः (P. 252)
V	1	41 मम	तव (P. 256)
„	„	49 सन्ति	नष्टाः (P. 257)
I	2	91 विलोचनम्	विलोचने (P. 266)
„	„	94 नरान्	नरम् („)
„	„	97 -रज्जौ	-रज्जुः („)
V	10	107 वासनानां परित्यागे	वासनानां परित्यागे (P. 267)
„	„	„ करोषि वा	करोष्यलम् („)
„	„	„ तत्ते	तत्ते and तास्ते („)
„	„	102 तत्त्वज्ञ	चेत्तर्हि („)
V	3	50 अस्ति कियन्मात्रम्	अस्तीह किमात्रम् (P. 270)
„	„	„ किमयमेव वा	किमयमेव च („)
„	„	„ कोट्हां कस्त्वं किमेते वा	कस्त्वं कोट्हां क एते वा („)
„	„	52 अस्ति हि	अस्तर्हि („)
„	1	53 -शाखात्म	शाखाग्र (P. 280)
„	„	54 -उपशमेन तु	उपशमे न तन् („)
„	„	55 मनो नामेह हन्मि	मना नाम निहन्मि („)
VI	4	1 सर्वोपद्रवकारिणः	सर्वोपद्रवदायिनः („)
„	2	20 आगत मुदितं [चित्तम्]	अगमच्चन्द्रवदुदितम् (P. 281)
V	5	92 किलास्येह	किलास्येदम् (P. 281)
V	10	53 दृढभ्यासम्	दृढाभ्यास- (P. 284)
„	„	123 निस्सङ्ग-	असङ्ग- (P. 285)
VI	2	18 न शास्त्राणि	न मित्राणि („)
VI	1	211 अपानेऽस्तं गते	अपाने स्तंभितः (P. 291)
V	10	3 आत्मदृक् स्वयम्	आत्ममात्रदृक् (P. 298)
V	10	9 मग्नचित्ते न	मग्नचित्तेन („)
V	9	66 सुतरे	सुतीक्ष्णे („)
V	6	29 त्यक्तमनने	मुक्तमनने (P. 299)
„	„	35 वने	बलात् („)

* 1. Some mss have the same readings as are found in the N.S.LYV.

LYV			JMV	
V	6	35 पुनस्तुपविश्य	पुनरुपविश्य	(P. 299)
"	"	109 अगच्छतः	आगच्छतः	(..)
"	"	110 परे लूने	समालीने	(..)
"	"	" हृदयान्तरे	हृदयाम्बरे	(..)
"	"	111 तदापि	तमपि	(..)
"	"	" स्वन्तर्विवस्वता	ज्ञानविवस्वता	(..)
"	"	" कान्तम्	स्वान्ते	(..)
V	3	36 सत्क्रमे	सङ्क्रमः	(P. 305)
"	"	37 भोगैः प्रपूरयेत्	भोगेन पूरयेत्	(..)
V	9	72 चित्तनाशाय	चित्तनाशस्य	(P. 309)
VI	1	60 परमः शिवः	परमेश्वरः	(..)
IV	5	37 प्रतिमानसः	शान्तमानसः	(P. 318)
"	"	38 त्वश्चम्	सर्वम्	(..)
"	"	39 अपि	हि	(..)
"	"	" त्वतश्चात्मा	तथेहात्मा	(..)
"	"	" कचिन्	जगत्	(..)
"	"	40 स्थितम्	ततः or ततम्	(..)
VI	9	450 नृपः	बुधः	(P. 319)
V	4	106 उदाहरन्	उदाहरत्	(P. 319)
"	"	" प्रद्वमानः	प्रद्वमा च	(..)
"	"	107 स प्रबुद्धात्मा	संप्रबुद्धात्मा	(..)
"	10	15 मुनेः	मुने	(P. 321)
"	"	16 स्वरूपः	सरूपः	(..)
"	"	26 विदेहमुक्तः	विदेहमुक्तौ	(..)
"	"	27 विदेहमुक्ते विमले	विदेहमुक्तावमले	(P. 322)
"	"	32 एकमुपम्	एकरूपम्	(..)
III	9	126 अर्थकार्येण	अर्थकारेण	(..)
I	3	18 अन्तः	अत्र	(P. 326)
"	"	" ज्ञातज्ञेये	ज्ञातज्ञेया	(..)
"	"	46 भ्रमता	भ्रामितम्	(P. 327)
"	"	49 तेन	मुने	(..)
"	"	" यस्य	स्वस्य	(..)
VI	15	58 मेरुपर्वतकुञ्जेषु	मेरुपर्वतकुञ्जेषु	(P. 349)
"	"	59 ततः	भुक्ते	(..)

upon those that eat the flesh of the domesticated fowl and the swine. With such notions of racial superiority, the Jāti Sōras who though they eat the flesh of the buffalo and the pig do not eat the flesh of the ox or the cow regard themselves as superior to those that eat them.

The Based (or Baseng), Binuma, Bobilli, K mpu, Kudumba, Tekkali and some among the Sudda Soras are, in varying degrees, Hinduised Soras and they have to some extent adopted the customs of the Hindus of the plains. The Sudda Soras have been partly Oriyaised and the rest Teluguised. These Soras have as a result of their intimate contact with the Hindus of the plains, given up eating the flesh of the cow or the buffalo and have been in touch with the civilisation of the plains. They, therefore, regard themselves as superior to the Soras of the hills, superior even to the Jāti Sōras (*Sōra par excellence*). But the Soras of the hills—the Jāti Soras as well as the others, far from admitting their racial superiority look down upon them as Soras that have lost their racial and linguistic purity and surrendered their religious principles, customs and manners.

Arsi(d) Soras:—*Arsi-n* is a Sora word, meaning baboon. Since there is no trace of totemism among the Soras, this cannot be regarded as a totemic appellation. How the name came to be applied to these Soras is not clear. They could not offer any clear explanation for the name. Some Jāti Soras told me that the *Arsi(d)* Soras so called because they freely ate baboons and when I said that I noticed some J ti Soras also eating baboons they remarked that it was really an "ersi" meaning taboo and sin and if some of their community ate them it was part of the recent relaxation of old customs. There is also another and more probable explanation for the origin of this appellation. The Oriyas call them Lambu-lanjiya (long-tailed Soras referring to the two ends of the waist cloth which the men of this community wear. The waist cloth about six inches wide and three to four yards long is so passed over the genitals and between the buttocks and wound round the waist twice or thrice, that the two ends, each a cubit long, hang from the waist, one in front serving as an additional cover to the genitals and the other behind the buttocks. As the ends of the waist cloth—especially the latter look like the tails of a baboon—the Oriyas and the other neighbours might have called them Lamba-lanjiya Soras. The same fact might have given rise to the name, *Arsi(d)* meaning a baboon.

Among the designs and other drawings on the walls of the huts of the Soras, we find pictures of the long-tailed baboons more profusely in the villages of the Arsid Soras than elsewhere in the Sora country. This shows that the Arsid Soras, far from feeling in any way insulted by this appellation, take delight in it. I once visited an Arsid Sora village near Gunupur and enquired into the origin of their name. The Soras there said in the usual way "who knows?" An old man, however, said in a humorous vein, "baboons are our elder cousins, nearest and dearest to us: we live in the same forests". "Do you worship them?" I said. "Yes", he said in the same humorous vein, "by eating them". Of all the Sora sub divisions this is the only tribe that has taken to weaving cotton cloth. They get the yarn from the plains.

Jadu Soras:—*Jadu* is a Sora word used to denote the inaccessible interior of the Sora country beyond Kollakot and Puitasing.

The *Jadu Soras* have the typical Mongoloid features more prominently than the *Jati Soras* and the racial purity is really much stronger in them than among the *Jati Soras* but the *Jati Soras* regard themselves as higher because they abstain from eating the flesh of the cow while the *Jadu Soras* eat it.

Kindal Soras are basket makers. (*Kindal* is a Sora word meaning basket.)

Kumbi Soras are pot makers. (The word *Kumbi* comes through the Oriyas from the Sanskrit word *kumbha*, meaning pot.)

Luang or *Luara Soras* and *Gontara Soras* are workers in metals; the former in iron and the latter in brass and bell metal. *Luang* or *Luara* comes from Sanskrit *lha*, literally metal and derivatively meaning iron and *Gontara* from Sanskrit *ghanā*, meaning literally bell and derivatively bell metal.

The origin of the names of some of the partly Hinduised Soras is very interesting. *Based* (variants—*Basud*, *Basid*) is a Sora word meaning salt. *Baseng* is a compound word (*Based*=salt and *aseng*=side) meaning south. The idea of the Soras is that the salt country, the coastal strip where salt is produced lies to the south of the Sora country. It is really to the south-east but not exactly to the south of the Sora country. As the Telugus and others of the plains live here, the Soras living on the border land of the Sora country towards the coastal strip are known as *Based Soras* or *Baseng Soras* and the implication is that they are partly Hinduised Soras. *K mpu* represents the older pronunciation of the modern Telugu word *Kapu* which now denotes a Sudra Telugu caste but

formerly meant a \cultivation. K mpu were the earliest Telugus with whom the Soras came into contact for the first time and consequently K mpu in Sora language denotes Telugu and though the pronunciation of Kāmpu has gradually changed into Kapu (with a half nasal ā) and k pu in the Telugu country, the older pronunciation is maintained by the Soras who borrowed the word.* This pronunciation shows that the Soras came into contact with the Telugus when the pronunciation to the Telugu language was K mpu. The Soras that live in the vicinity of the Telugus are known as Kāmpa Soras. Bobilli add Bimma seem to be the names of a few sub divisions of Based or Baseng and Kāmpu class of Soras. Tekkali Soras are, as the name clearly indicates, the Soras that have been long settled in Tekkali taluk. Sudda Soras are in the vicinity of Mahāndragiri; they are partly Oriyaised; some of them have adopted the Oriya methods of worship though they have not entirely given up their own religious practices. Since Kudumba Soras are also pot makers like Kumbi Soras, I am led to suppose that Kumbi and Kudumba are cognate words, the latter having an influx *ad* changing into *ud* for the sake of vowel harmony. (*Vide* under Kumbi).

Some of these partly Hinduised Soras have given up eating the flesh of the pig also. As observed above, the superiority of a class is measured with reference to the abstinence from eating the flesh of the ape, the cow, the ox, the buffalo and the pig. Arsid Soras eat the flesh of all these animals. The other (except the Jati and the partly Hinduised Soras) eat the flesh of the cow, the ox, the buffalo and the pig; J ti Soras eat the flesh of the buffalo and the pig; most of the partly Hinduised Soras eat the flesh of the pig and some have given up eating the flesh of even the pig. A Sora who is proud of his superiority refuses to eat the food or to drink the water touched by a Sora of a class considered as inferior to his.

A more careful investigation of these tribes is not possible unless the investigator makes an exclusive tour in the Sora country and spends considerable time in it because some of the tribes are scattered and live in places which are not easily accessible.

Since the J ti Soras belong to the most extensive and numerically strong sub division, my investigation has been mostly

* Cf. This pronunciation of Company (*i.e.*, the East India Company) as Kum-pani still heard in India it represents the pronunciation of the Elizabethan age in England when the Indians heard the word for the first time.

confined to a study of the Soras of this sub division. The ethnographic accounts which I present in my articles will, therefore, generally refer to the Jati Soras. I shall, however, refer to the life of the Soras of the other sub divisions wherever it is necessary and possible for me to do so.

DRESS

The typical dress of a Sora man consists of three pieces of cloth (1) a waist cloth (2) a turban cloth and (3) an upper cloth. The waist cloth is five to six inches wide and six to nine feet long. It has coloured borders at the two ends and red coloured and clus-tened fringes of cotton thread at the front end. While the Arsid Soras let hang both the ends one before and the other behind, the Soras of other classes tuck up the end behind their buttocks and allow the front end to hang though not so far down as the Arsid Soras do. Old men and poor people wear only a smaller piece enough to pass between the legs and round the waist once. The turban cloth varies in quality and size with the social status and economic condition of the man, also with the occasion. A poor man's head dress ordinarily consists of any piece of their cloth which is at least six inches wide and four feet long—enough to pass round the head in coils and cover up the middle tuft of hair. A man of well-to-do circumstances has a bigger turban with a red or grey or yellow coloured cloth. The Soras are generally fond of having their turbans conical in shape, and they do so by keeping the middle tuft of hair stand straight on the head with the aid of a hair pin and by passing the cloth round the head in coils and round the tuft in spiral windings up to the top of the tuft. Some Soras like to have big turbans similar to those worn by the Telugu officials of the previous generation: (3) an upper cloth consisting of a large sheet of cloth or two sheets joined and stitched together. This is intended to serve as a cover over the body. When the weather is fine, the Sora does not care to put it on but when he has to go to a distant place, he does invariably carry it on his shoulders as a provision against cold winds or to use it as a bed sheet. On festive occasions, the man appears in his picturesque chequered gala dress with waving tufts of feathers tucked in at the top of his turban.

The typical dress of a Sora woman consists of two pieces of cloth—(1) a thick skirt (loin cloth) about two feet broad and four feet long, which is passed round the waist, buttocks and the thighs,

* (Vide under Clothing my previous article)

leaving quite bare the upper part of the body above the waist and the lower part of the legs below the thighs; (2) an upper cloth as in the case of men. The woman has an additional use for this upper cloth when she has to carry her baby. She passes the cloth over her shoulders and through her arm pits and making up a fold into a sling, keeps her baby in it and bundles it upon her back. She never takes any care to see if her breasts are covered or exposed to the public gaze. The idea of covering up the breasts is of very recent origin among the Soras who frequently visit the plains and even now they are very indifferent. In her village, the Sora woman rarely puts on the upper garment. On festive occasions, she takes special care to see that her loin cloth and upper garment are neat and tidy and her hair is well dressed. The travelling kit of a Sora woman consists of an upper garment and a pumpkin bowl or a calabash.

ORNAMENTS AND DECORATION

The Sora woman wears no head dress but the dressing of the hair is picturesque. She applies to her hair Karanja oil (oil of the seeds of the gloomy tree — *authocymus pictorius*) or the gingelly oil (oil of the seeds of *sesamum indicum*) and combs the hair neatly; collects all the hair into a big knot and tucks it up so that it bulges into a round ball to the left side at the back of the head. The hair pin (usually that made of brass) is passed through the braid to keep it intact. The forelocks are then dressed up towards the crown of the head and a headband that passes round the forehead prevents forelocks from falling upon and covering up the forehead. The head-bands used vary with the taste of the individual. Some head-bands consist merely of strong black fibres; some others are pieces of cloth, coloured black, on which several strings of tiny black glass beads are laid flat; some others are made of strips of the Indian date leaf, twisted and plaited dexterously. The woman's head is next loaded with several ornaments such as brass chains and brass flowers. Two brass chains, one on either side of the parting line of hair, pass along the head and are held up by the hooked ends, fastened into the hair; each looks like the crescent of the moon. The brass flowers are of various sizes; each has, on the upper side, a floral design and on the inner side a small coiled wire which when turned down on the head gets into the hair and keeps the flower intact.

Each of the two ears of a Sora woman is pierced with fifteen to twenty holes all along the helix and through each of

these holes an ear-ring is passed. In the case of some women even the tragus (a small cartilaginous eminence at the entrance of the external ear) is pierced with a hole and an ear-ring is passed through it. The holes of the ears are perforated and the aperture is gradually elongated very often to such an enormous degree that the weaver's wrist can easily pass through it. The methods adopted to increase the size of the aperture show the amount of care, attention and patience of the Sora belle, to enhance her beauty according to the notions of the Soras. A very fine and thin piece of broom-stick of the size of a pin if inserted on the first day of the aperture and the number of such pieces is gradually increased. I noticed a woman inserting in the aperture a small bundle of about one hundred such pieces and the woman told me that she would further increase the size of the aperture until she could insert a wooden disc which she then brought from her house and showed me; it was nearly two inches in diameter and half an inch thick and looked like a piece on the carroms board. As an alternative to the wooden disc a brass spiral ring attached to a brass pin that stands along the rim of the helix is inserted into the distended aperture so that the outer rim of the lobe looks like an expanded and polished rubber strap and touches the shoulders. There are the instances of the lobes hanging loose on the shoulders and marring the beauty of the woman.

The depressed portions of both the alae and the septum of the nose are each pierced with a hole and adorned with a thick brass ring. There is slight difference between the rings of the alae and the ring of the septum; while the former are flat and round, the latter is a little thick and heart shaped.

The neck of a Sora belle is often and especially on festive occasions very heavily burdened with various necklaces and rosaries of beads. She wears brass chains which are patterned on bunches of small berries and rosaries of red beads and glass pearls far more profusely than the Sora youth; in fact a mass of these necklaces and rosaries comes up to the neck and the chest and covers a large part of the breasts. What appears to be a number of rosaries is, after all, only one long rosary wound round the neck a number of times so that each succeeding coil gets smaller and fits into the previous coil and the last coil is just large enough to pass through the head.

The waist band is artistically decorated with rows of tiny black glass beads laid flat one below the other, the number of rows varying from thirty to fifty.

On each hand, the Sora woman wears a pair of brass or aluminium armlets in the middle part of the arm, three or four pairs of wristlets and finger rings on each of the four fingers. The armlets are inlaid with beautiful designs.

On each leg she has a bronze or nickel or aluminium anklet and on each of the small toes, a toe ring; the ring of the middle toe has a curved top. The wife of the Gamang (the village chief) has the privilege of wearing conspicuously large anklet as a mark of distinction.

The brass ornaments are made by the Gontara Soras but the nickel and aluminium ornaments are purchased in the markets either in those that have been opened in the Sora country or in the markets of the plains. A few Soras have just recently learnt to make rings (ear, nose and finger rings) of silver. I saw one Sora who was making silver rings. He is a Luara-Sora living in a village near Serung. He makes the rings to order and with the silver of the silver coin that is given him by those who give him the order. He charges for his labour at the rate of two annas per rupee.

The Sora youth also pays some attention to his dress, ornaments and decoration. On festive occasions where he is expected to take part in a group dance, he takes special care to see that his dress, ornaments and decoration attract the attention of the party—especially of the belles that attend it. In addition to the dress, described above he has a large bunch of white feathers of the jungle birds, a peacock's feather and a few tail feathers of the jungle cock generally struck in the knot of the hair and rising above the tapering head dress, waving up and down and presenting a very graceful appearance as he walks along his way. A flat piece of brass or wood of about eight inches in length with a flat button shaped disc of about two inches in diameter on the top is also used, not primarily as a head ornament but mainly to make the hair knot stiff and firm. At the time of dancing, the Sora youth wears the waist cloth like the Arsid Sora so that the back end also is allowed to hang; but the hanging pieces are short and not so long as those of the Arsid Soras.

Each of the two ears of the Sora youth is pierced with one hole at the top most part of the helix and one hole in the lobe and ear-rings made of brass are worn, one in each of these holes and from one of these ear rings of each ear hangs a pendant which generally consists of a small chain of about two inches in length. The chain consists of 8 to 10 tiny brass rings. The place of these

pendants varies with the taste of the individual. Some men have their pendants on both sides hanging from the top-most part of the helix; some others have them hanging from the lobes on either side; some others have the pendant of one ear from the helix and that of the other ear from the lobe. The ear-rings to which pendants are attached are small; practically they form part of the pendants. The ear-rings to which pendants are not attached are larger in size. Those of the lobes are generally thicker in the lower part than those of the helix.

A small brass nose-ring is passed through the alae of the right nostril.

Round the neck are generally a nickel or aluminium neck-ring, necklaces and rosaries of small beads. The number of brass necklaces varies from one to five but the rosaries of beads are sometimes as many as thirty or one large rosary passed round the neck thirty times in graded coils.

On each hand, there are one or two pairs of wristlets and two or three finger rings which are made of brass or nickel or aluminium.

Soras generally use for the waist band a thick plaited wire made of brass and recently some are using wires made of silver.

A Sora beau intending to go for a dance and eager to exhibit his full set of necklaces and beads does not care for the upper garment which may also hinder the easy movements at the dance. He wears all the ornaments he has and carries with him a sword or battle axe in his right hand and bow and arrows in his left hand. Sometimes he holds up open the modern umbrella which he has learnt to use now' and moves it gracefully in conformity with the rhythmic paces of dancing.

There is marked difference between the Hill Soras and the partly Hinduised Soras both in dress and ornaments and decoration. The latter put on a larger piece of cloth, a part of which passing round the loins, covers the thighs and buttocks up to the knees and the other passing over the shoulders covers the breasts; some of the Oriyaised Sora women lift up the cloth over the shoulders so as to cover the back of the head also. The partly Hinduised Sora men wear a larger piece of cloth which covers the thighs and buttocks from the waist to the knees; the front end is folded four or five times and allowed to hang from the waist to the knees and the back end is drawn up between the thighs and tucked in at the back. They put on a small upper garment and do not generally wear the headdress or put on any feathers on the top knot of the

hair. When they wear a head dress, it is in the way in which the low caste Hindus do on ordinary occasions.

As regards ornaments, neither the men nor the women of the partly Hinduised Soras wear the rosaries of beads of which the Hill Soras are so fond. The men wear a few brass necklaces or chains and the women have, round their neck, a black string with a few red coral like beads. The ears of the women are pierced with one or two holes on the helix and one hole in the lobe and are adorned with the ear rings or studs. The women have nose ornaments similar to those worn by the Hill Sora women; but the men have only one hole through the left nostril and a small brass or alluminium ring passing through it. When asked if the men of his community have a nose ring to the right nostril, a Kāpu Sora said "Never; we are not Hill Soras to have a ring on our right nostril" and further volunteered to remark "nor do our women wear rings all along the helix of their ears". While the Hill Sora women have two to four brass wristlets and nothing else, the partly Hinduised Sora women put on just one brass wristlet and a number of glass bangles; women who have their husbands alive put on red, green, blue or yellow bangles while the widows put on black bangles.

I shall, in another article, refer to certain interesting points in Sora customs and conventions as well as in Sora folk-lore that throw light on the origin of dress and ornaments.

TATTOOING

The Soras, both men and women are, no doubt, fond of tattooing but they do not tattoo their bodies so profusely as the Porojas of the Jeypore Agency tracts or some other kindred tribes of the Kol-Munda race. Girls must have tattoo marks on their face, chest, arms, upper side of their hands, legs and the upper side of their feet. The exact place of the tattoo marks and the patterns vary with the taste of the individual. The tattooed lines on the forehead are horizontal in the case of some girls and vertical in the case of some others; they are evenly distributed on either side of the forehead and are noticed above the eye-brows. In either case, there is an additional vertical line in the centre. Some have only a dot which looks like a caste mark. There is among many women a line along the ridge of the nose. I have also noticed tattooed dots on the chin and the cheeks. Elaborate tattoo marks are made on the chest, the inner side of the fore-arms and the legs backside of the legs and the patterns used vary with the taste of the individual taste. Floral designs seem to be very common and popular. I have also noticed pictures of birds like peacock and

dove and pictures of animals like monkey and tiger also tattooed on the inner side of the fore-arm; some small floral designs or geometrical figures tattooed on the upper part of the hands and the feet; some dots or small circles or short lines tattooed on the upper side of the fingers and the toes. The pricking is made with thorns or needles and the pigment used is a vegetable dye mixed with charcoal powder dissolved in oil.

The tattoo marks in the case of the Sora men are generally very scanty—just a dot or a short vertical line in the centre of the forehead, and an elaborate design on the chest or the innerside of the fore-arm.

No special significance is attached to tattooing. In response to my frequent enquiries I could only get the usual reply "This is our *ukka*, meaning custom. Some Soras have however said that tattooing protects the body from some evil spirits and the diseases caused by them. It is generally regarded as a mode of decorating the body.

SOCIAL GRADES AMONG THE SORAS

Among the Soras of the Parlakimedi Hill tracts most of whom are Jāti Soras, there are three social — (1) Gamangs, (2) Buyyas and (3) Parjās. At public assemblies sometimes held to decide questions of common interest, the speaker addresses the audience as *ē gamangji!* *ē buyyāi!* *ē parajāji!* (O Gamangs! O Buyyas! O Parajas!)

The official village-head is called Gamang. — a Sora word which literally means a great man; and his colleague in the internal administration of the village is the Buyya, who in addition to his work of helping the Gamang stands as the High Priest of the village. Both of them are recognised by the Government. I shall describe their rights and privilege under Political Organisation in another article.

There are besides the official Gamang, many other Soras in the village known as Gamangs. To distinguish between the officially recognised Gamang and the Gamangs in general, the Soras refer to the former as Sādi Gamang to indicate that he receives as insignia a pair of clothes from the hands of the District Collector who, as Agent to the Governor of the Province, holds an annual Durbar at an important centre in the Sora country and presents insignia to the local officials of the Sora country. The Sādi Gamang and other Gamangs of the same village seem to be members of one any the same Gamang family. They have their houses together in a row in the same street or section of the village known as Gamang street or Gamang section.

There is likewise besides the official Buyya, many other Soras in the village known as Buyyas. To distinguish between the

officially recognised Buyya and the Buyyas in general, the Soras refer to the former as S di Buyya. Both the Sadi Buyya and other Buyyas of the same village seem to be members of one and the same family. They have their houses together in a row in the same street or section of the village known as Buyya street or Buyya section.

Unlike Gamang the word Buyya is not a common Sora word. It refers to the class of Buyyas, besides the officially recognised S di Buyya. Both the Gamang and the Buyya officers are hereditary and the rule of primogeniture regulates the succession to them subject, of course, to the principle that members who are physically disabled or are of unsound mind should be excluded. Besides physical fitness and mental soundness, the Buyya expected to possess the technical knowledge of a High Priest but since knowledge is not inherited the Buyyas of several villages get the work done by another among the Buyyas who has acquired the necessary knowledge. To distinguish between the officially recognised Buyya and the Buyya who actually officiates at the ceremonies the Soras call the former Sadi Bayya and the latter Purpur Buyya. The word *Pur-pur* refers to worship and all other religious ceremonies involving invocation of spirits. The officiating priest comes invariably from the class of Buyyas who seem to be the exclusive custodians of the Sora religion and "*Pur-pur*" (religious worship, religious ceremonies etc.). Whether the Sora Buyyas are in any way related to the Bhuiyas widely scattered in other parts of India such as the Orissa States, Orissa Division, Man bhum, Patna Division, Bhagalpur Division is yet to be ascertained by further and more extensive investigation.

The word *paraja* is evidently from Sanskrit *praja* meaning subject people in a kingdom. It does not indicate any racial distinction. Thus is, however, marked difference in social status between the Gamangs and the Buyyas on the one hand and the Parajas on the other. The Gamangs and the Buyyas regard one another as equals in social status and intermarry but both of them treat the Parajas as inferior to them and while they accept the Paraja girls in marriage, they do not allow their girls to marry Paraja youths,

Each of these three classes in the village has its own cremation ground as well as the place for setting up stone slabs in memory of the dead.

Further reference to the differences in customs and manners among these three classes will be made under other topics in my articles.

TYPES & LEGENDS OF HAIHAYA COINS OF MAHAKOSALA

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA

The Haihaya coins of Mahākōsala have been described as coins of Eastern Chēdi by former Numismatists. I doubt, whether the Mahākōsala kingdom was ever called "Eastern Chēdi", by its own rulers who called themselves "Lord of *Sakala Kōsala*"¹ about the 12th century A. D. Although two different branches of the same family of the Haihayas, ruled over Chēdi and Kōsala (Mahākōsala), they never named their kingdoms as Western or Eastern Chēdi. No inscriptional evidence to this effect has yet been found. In fact, Chēdi (Tripura, Dāhala² or Jubbālpur) and Kōsala (Ratnapura) were two different kingdoms from the 10th century A.D. to the 17th century A.D., having their ancient histories. It would, therefore, be more appropriate to classify the rulers of these two kingdoms as Lords of Chēdi and as Lords of Kōsala (Mahākōsala) respectively.

In this paper I propose to describe the gold and copper coins issued by the Haihaya rulers, who had their capitals first at Tummana (in the Bilaspur district) and later on at Ratnapura (present day Ratnapur) 16 miles to the north of the present town of Bilaspur. These princes continued to govern the Kōsala kingdom uninterruptedly for about 800 years. The Haihaya rule was replaced in 1747 by the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit, on his way to Orissa on "Bengal Expedition".

Materials to determine the appropriate extent of the Kingdom of Mahākōsala prior to the advent of the Haihayas are meagre. Mahākōsala or South Kōsala was no doubt an important province during the 7th century A.D. and the famous Chinese pilgrim describes it in the following words:

"This country, more than 6,000 *li*³ in circuit, was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, its capital being about 40 *li* in circuit. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the towns and villages were close together; the people were prosperous, tall of stature and black in colour; the king

1 Amoda plates of Prithivideva I

4 अस्ति विश्वम्भरस्यारः कमलाकुलमन्दिरम् भागिरथिनिर्मदयमेषां डहन मण्डकम् ॥

3 A *li* is equal to about 1/5th of a mile. See Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, II, p.200,

was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion and of noted benevolence. There were about 100 Buddhist monasteries, and about 10,000 brethren, all Mahayanists. Near the south of the city (that is apparently the capital) was an old monastery with an Asoka tope where Buddha had vanquished Tirthankars by the exhibition of supernormal powers, and in which Nāgārjuna Pu'sa had afterwards lodged."

As Yuan Chwang does not mention the name of the king⁴ or the capital, we are unable to identify either of the two with any certainty. The omission of any reference to the famous river of Mahākōśala—the Mahānadi, adds to our difficulty. Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal took the present day town of Bhandak in the Chanda district, C. P. to be the probable representative of the capital of Mahākōśala, which the Chinese pilgrim visited. Some other scholars suggest the name of Śrīpura (present Sirpur on the bank of the Mahānadi in the Raipur District, C. P.) for that honour and go to identify Mahāśiva Gupta (Bālārjuna) with the Kshatriya king in question. Mahāśiva Gupta Bālārjuna was the son of Harshadēva or Harshagupta and his grand-uncle was Mahā Siva Tivaradēva, supreme Lord of Kōśala, *Kōśalādhipati*, whose capital was Śrīpura.

No coins of either of the three kings have yet come to light, although stone inscriptions and copper charters of their time have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur District.

The kingdom of Mahakōśala during the Haihaya rule from about 11th to 14th centuries A.D. was a comparatively condensed territory, when compared with its vastness under the *Sōma* or *Pāṇḍu-vamśa* rulers who had their capital at Śrīpura on the Mahānadi.

The Haihayas in ancient days were very powerful. They were well known throughout India. They had their own era called *Kalachuri* or *Chēdi* era which began on the 5th September 248 A.D. What great event this commemorates or how the era originated is not clearly known. There is no doubt that the family is an ancient one and finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*. They trace their origin to Sahasrārjuna or Kārtavīrya who had a thousand arms. The word "*Haihaya*" is a combination of two Sanskrit words *ahi* + *hayameaning* 'Snake and Horse'.⁵ To me it appears to be expressive of the meaning that the original founder was born of parents

⁴ Yuan Chwang also omits to give the name of the dynasty to which the then King of South Kosala belonged. *Ed.*

⁵ अहिहय नृपवंशे शम्भुभक्तोऽवतीर्णः कलचुरिरिति शाखां प्राप्य तद्विप्रतापः

Khalari Stone Inscriptions of Haribrahmadeva. *Ep. Ind.* II, p. 228.

hailing from an *Ahi* or *Nāga* family and an *Aśvapati* or *Hayapati* (Lord of Horses) family. The Haihayas were known as Kalchuris and their original kingdom was the Chēdi country extending along the south bank of the Yamanī. An authoritative account of them is given by Captain C. E. Luard, M.A., (Oxon) I.A., Superintendent of Gazetteer on Central India.

"This region (Rewah State) has been from very early days connected with the Haihayas, Kalachuris or Chēdis, who were apparently branches of the same tribe. The *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Purānas and early Buddhist books, all refer to their sovereignty over this tract. It would appear that in the Buddha's day the Magadhas held the country up to the Sōṇ Valley, and the Chēdis (Chētis) Mahā Kāsala, lying to the north-west of it. They appear to have been a branch of the great Haihaya tribe. The Haihayas early acquired the Narmadā Valley, their first capital being at Māhishmati.

As to the origin of the Haihaya tribe, I have come across an account published in the Hindi journal *Sanātana Dharma Patākā*, under the heading "Jagannatī Lakshmi" (Vol. 38 No. 3 Morad b.d. June 1937.) I give below in brief the substance of that article.

Once Rēvantā the son of god Sun went to Vaikuṇṭha riding on his famous and beautiful steed named Uchchaiśravā. Lakshmi began to watch the movement and gestures of the noble horse with undivided attention, and forgot herself for a time. Just at that moment abruptly appeared god Vishnu before her and enquired as to what she was looking at so devotedly. Lakshmi was quite beside herself and she could not know of the arrival of, and the subsequent question of her Lord.

• Vishnu got annoyed and cursed his wife to go down to *Bhūloka* or 'the Earth' and take birth as a mare because of her so lovingly watching the particular horse.

At this, Lakshmi trembled with fear and insult and implored her husband to take pity on her. Vishnu was however firm; but he said that her birth as a mare would cease to continue as soon as she begets a son.

Lakshmi accordingly had to come down to the Earth, from *Vaikuṇṭha dhāma* and to take birth as a mare. She then began her penances at the holy junction of rivers Kalindi (Yamunā) and *Tamasā* in the sacred name of god Śiva. In due course Śiva along with his consort Parvati appeared before Lakshmi, who was in the form of a mare and enquired why she had been put to such a trial. On hearing from her all about the curse and its termination, god Śiva assured her of his hearty help to move god Vishnu, who as was known to Lakshmi was different from Śiva only in name

and form, to end the curse at once. Vishnu, thereupon, had to assume the form of a horse; and the union with the mare form of Lakshmi, his beloved consort resulted in the birth of a son named *Vira* or *Ēka Vira*. From this *Vira* the Haihaya dynasty took or derived its name.

This legendary account is not referred to in the inscriptions of the Haihayas. But both goddess Lakshmi and god Siva were the main tutelary deities of the Haihaya kings. We find Gaja-Lakshmi figure on their seals and god Siva as their family god *Kula-deva*.

To return to the main string of our investigations, the Haihayas claimed Yādava descent and trace their origin to a mythical ancestor called Kṛtavīrya-Arjuna of a thousand arms.

The connection with Mahishmati was always carefully preserved, and we find Haihaya officers in the 11th century serving under the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāna who described themselves as "Lords of Mahishmati, the best of towns." The Haihaya main branch appears to have gradually extended its sway eastward towards the source of the Narmada, where it remained for many centuries. We don't find any reference to them in any inscription from 1st century A. D. upto the time of Samudragupta. Dhāla is mentioned in one of the records of this time. A king is stated to have sought to give prosperity to the kingdom of Dhāla, which had come to him by inheritance and the 18 Forest Kingdoms. In the Allahabad pillar inscription (350 A. D.) it is mentioned that a conquest of the Forest Kingdoms was made by him. This possibly refers to the Dhāla kingdom.

As stated elsewhere the Chēdi era of which the initial year corresponds to 249 A. D. goes to show that by that time the Haihayas had become a tribe of importance. Their era was in use for over 1000 years. Traditionally the establishment of their position is connected with the capture of the fort Kālanjar, where one Krishna Chēdi slew an evil-minded king who practised cannibalism. By the end of the 6th century, they became so powerful as to engage in a contest with Mangalika, the Chalukya King of Badami, who in his Mahakuta (Bijapur) inscription of A. D. 598 records a victory over Buddhavarman Kalatsuri (Kalachuri) son of Sankargana of Chēdi, during a campaign in the Northern region.

The *Vrihat Samhitā* written during the 6th century, mentions the Chaidyas as a people of the Madhya-Desa or "middle region" of India. In the Abhona (Dist. Naisik) plate of Sankargana - Chedi era 347 (=595 A. D.) we find that the donor Sankargana is described as पूर्वपरसमुद्रान्तादिदेश स्वामी मातृपितृपादनुष्यपरभमाहेश्वर श्रीशङ्करगणः

These plates were issued from the victorious camp Ujjainī now known as Ujjain in Central India.⁶

Some coins of Saṅkaragaṇa's father Krishnaraja have come to light. (*Progress Report Arch. Sur. Western India* for 1914-15 p. 60). The son of Saṅkaragaṇa was Buddharāja who had his second capital at Vidiṣa, the modern Besanagar near Bhilsa (vide Vadner plates) his main capital being Māhishmati.

The "Ancient History of the Deccan" has the following:— The inscription of Mahakūṣa which is dated in the 5th year of the reign of Mangaleśa i. e. 601-602 A.D. says (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 7) that this King vanquished Buddha and the Nerur plates (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VII p. 166) say that he put to flight Śaṅkargaṇa's son Buddharāja and killed Svāmīrāja of the Chālukya family (see also *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI p. 363).

Further it states :— The Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VI No. I. p. 8.) says that Mangaleśa took in marriage the fortune of the Kaachehuris and seized upon the isle of Revatī, it was perhaps in this island that Svamiraja reigned. The location of isle of Revati can be known from a reference to the family of Batpura which lived probably not far from Goa at Rewatidvipa (Goa plates-*J.B.Br.R.A.S.* vol. X. p. 348). For about 200 or 300 years from circa 600 to 900 A. D. history is silent about the Kalachuris or the Haihayas, till we come to one Kokalla, Lord of Tripurī (present day Tewar) in the Jubbulpur Dist., near Bēhāghāt a few miles from the Jubbulpur town. One of the Kalchuri kings became very powerful, and was able to win for his family imperial fame. Dr. Hiralal has dealt with this branch of the Haihaya dynasty in detail. Here I refer to the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva of this family.

This family won a victory over *Trikalinga* and *Andhra* and assumed the high sounding title, *Trikalingādhipati*. Their another proud title was *Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara* or Lords of Kālañjar, best of cities.⁷ With Kālañjar as the base the family had extended their sway, the tract becoming known as Chedi-Desa after them. The Kalachuris were also called *Traikūṭaka* because of their connection with *Trikūṭa* kingdom. Many inscriptions of them attribute their home-land to *Tritasaurya*. The genealogy of the Kalachuris begins with Kokalla, apparently Kokalla (the First) who ruled about 875 A. D. This Kokalla had 18 sons. The eldest of these was who had

⁶ विजय स्वन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकात् ।

Abhona Plates.

⁷ *Arch. Sur. of West Ind.*, No. 10,

capital at Tripurī. The rest of the brothers became the lords of various Mandalas. To one of Kokalla's sons, the Haihaya Rulers of Tummaṇa and Ratanpur trace their origin. The doors of all the temples built by the Kalchuris in Dāhala, contain the *Gajalakshmi* figure. (vide *Jabalapur Jyoti* by Dr. Hiralal). The C. P. inscription has on p. 230 the following:

"Coins of Kalachuri dynasty of Dāhala or Western Chedi. These are the coins of the real sovereign of the C. Ps. who ruled at Tripurī or Tewar, six miles from Jubbalpur. They bear the figure of their tutelary goddess Lakshmi in a sitting posture, with a slight deviation from the Gupta devices in that the Goddess has four instead of two arms. The reverse contains the name of King Gaṅgēyadēva.

1. COPPER COINS

The last king of Haihaya Dynasty of Mahākūśala whose copper coins have come to light was Pratāpamalladeva (Pratāpa Singh of the C. P. Gazetteer.)

(a) LION AND SWORD TYPE

Obverse: Legend in Devanagari script in three lines:—

*Śrīmat-Pra-
tāpa-ma-
lladēva*

Reverse: Figure of a sword and that of a lion.

These coins were discovered at (Bālpur) a little village on the left bank of the Mahānadi in the Bilasapur Dist.⁸ I identified these coins as Haihaya ones on the strength of the characters used in the legend and looking to the great distance of their find-spots from Nepal.⁹ No silver or gold coins of this king have yet come to light. These copper coins are either round or hexagonal (six-sided.) The round ones are of three different sizes: (1) large size, (2) middle size and (3) small size.

The device on these is a lion accompanied by the figure of a sword or a dagger. This sword or dagger figure finds a place on the Gaja-Lakshmi seal of king Pratāpamalladeva, just below his name. This seal was found with the copper plates of the same

⁸ In 1927 I published with plates a paper entitled "Bālpur Copper Coins of Pratāpamallā-Dēva"—A new discovery—in the March issue of the *I.H.Q.*, of Calcutta, Vol. III, No. 1, March 1927.

⁹ The late R. D. Banerjee, to whom the coins were sent by me for examination, expressed an opinion that they might belong to Prince Jayapratāpamallā of Nepal.

king found at Pendrābandh village in the Balōd, Bazār Tahsil, Dist. Raipur in 1934. The plates are dated in the Chedi era 965=1214 A. D. This first known record of Pratāpamalladeva confirms my identification of his coins. A genealogy of Pratāpamallā is given in the plates, from which we learn that he was the son and successor of Ratnadeva III the Haihaya prince of Ratnapura. Our Mahākosla Historical Society, is in possession of a number of all the four kinds of the copper coins of Pratāpamalladeva, all picked up in solitary bits of one or two, from year to year, during the rainy season on the very site of the present village of Balpur and in the adjoining grass fields along the left bank of the Mahānadi.¹⁰

Specimens of these coins have been supplied by our Society to:—(1) The British Museum, London. (2) Indian Museum, Calcutta. (3) Central Museum, Nagpur C. P. (4) Local Museum Raipur, C. P. (10—7—1929) (5) Archaeological Dept. Gwalior State (9—2—28) C. I.

(b) RAMPANT LION TYPE.

Coins of this type are all round. They belong to Ratnadeva III, Prithvideva III and Jājalladeva II. The legend unlike that of Sri Pratāpamalladeva's coins, is in two lines instead of three. It reads

[अमद्र]	OR	[अमिद्र]	OR	[श्रीगजा]
[नदेव]		[अमिदेव]		[जलदेव]

These are comparatively thick. The copper coins of Pratāpamalladeva are thinner than those of the above princes.

(c) HANUMAN TYPE—FOUR ARMED OR TWO ARMED.

The coins belonging to these three kings are of gold and copper. They are available in the Nagpur Central Museum and Indian Museum, Calcutta. The Ratnapur princes were worshippers of god Siva. Kesari the father of Hanumana is described in Hindu religious books as an attendant or companion (Gaṇa) of god Siva; as such the adoption of the figure of Hanumana on their coins by the Haihaya Princes, is not extraordinary. The figure of Hanumana is shown on some coins with *four arms* and on some with *two arms*. A female figure is shown below one of his feet. Hanumana type coins are earlier than those of *Lion Type*. They belong to Ratnadeva I and Prithvideva I respectively. Hanumana type copper coins of Jājalladeva are very rare. Our society has got one or two specimens only.

¹⁰ Prof. V. V. Mirashi's paper "Pondrabandh Plates of Pratāpamalladeva: The (Kalachuri) year 965. *Ed. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1.

(d) ARCHER TYPE.

I have come across a most interesting copper coin of Jājalladeva which bears a bow-man either a representation of Hanumana or of the king himself. It was found at Bilpur on 2—8—1930.

In all probability this archer type of coin must have been struck by king Jājalladeva I, who was a great warrior and who had obtained victory over the kings of Jejekabhukti, Kannauja and Chedi. This new device would have been adopted to commemorate his victory over the aforesaid princes. The weight of the two coins (copper) of this type in possession of our society is two *māṣās* and four *ratīs* each.

2. SILVER COINS

Silver coins of this Dynasty are very rare and they have not yet come to light. In the bed of the Mahanadi, a gold-dust-washer came across a round silver coin (small size) and produced it before me on 20—11—1934. This is the only silver coin of this dynasty yet come to light. On examination I found that it belonged to Prithvideva the Haihaya prince of Mahākōsala (Ratnapura).

Museum Notes on Haihaya Coins

INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

R. B. R. Chandra Esq. Superintendent Archaeological Section, Indian Museum writes under date 28th Oct. 1927 as follows :—

“We have in our cabinet the coins of the Haihaya Dynasty of Mahākōsala which is otherwise called Eastern Chedi corresponding to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces with Ratnapura (present Ratnapur town, 15 miles to the north of Bilaspur town) as the capital. Prithvidēva, Jājalladeva and Ratnadeva are the kings of whom we possess *gold* coins.”

CENTRAL MUSEUM, NAGPUR

I give below an extract from a printed notice dated 8-9-1925, supplied to me by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nagpur Museum.

List of coins available for sale at the Central Museum, Nagpur, C.P.

Gold coins of Prithividēva, 1140—63 A.D. (E. Chēdi)

13 big coins Rs. 9 each.

5 small coins 3 „

Gold Coins of Jājalladeva 1160—75 A.D. (E. Chēdi)

9 big coins Rs. 2 each.

Gold coins of Ratnadeva 1175—90 A.D. (E. Chēdi)

11 big coins Rs. 9 each.

6 small coins 3 „

(Sd.) E. A. D. ABREU,
Curator, Central Museum.

Weights of the Coins

1. Copper coins of Pratāpamalladēva:
 - (a) (Round) Small size One māṣā four rattis ($1\frac{1}{2}$ māṣā)
 - (b) „ Middle „ Two māṣās, two rattis
 - (c) „ Large „ Three māṣās
 - (d) (Hexagonal) (Larger size) (weight seven māṣās)
2. Copper coins of Prithvidēva (Hanumana type) 7 (seven) māṣās
3. Copper coins of Ratnadēva (Lion type) 7 (seven) māṣās
4. Coins of Jjjaladeva: Hanumana type (middle size) 3 (three) māṣās

The coins issued by the Haihaya coins of Ratnapur (Mahakosala) do not contain any date whatever. None of the coins yet examined by experts is found with a date either in Chēdi era or in Vikram Samvat. This absence of date on the coins of the Haihaya Princes is mostly responsible for the difficulty in classing which of the coins belongs to which Ratnadēva, Prithvidēva or Jjjaladeva as there were three kings of each of the aforesaid three names.

I have been engaged in the collection and preservation of coins since 1915. The largest find of copper coins was reported to me from Talōra,—a village in the Raigarh State E.S.A. This village is about 10 miles to the N. E. from my place Bilpur on the Mahanadi and is owned by Messrs. Shiva Prasad and Manohar Prasad Mishra, sons of late Rai Sahib Pandit Kripachand Mishra, Ex-Dewan of that State. Mr. Trilochan Misra, their Mukhtar sent to me the coins in July 1934. According to his statement a lot of 43 coins of middle and small size were unearthed at Talōra, put in old earthen pot and buried underground.

Almost all of them are awfully corroded except a few on which the letters *ma* or *ad* and *ra* are seen. They are thin round bits. A few contain the legend in two lines as

Śrīmad-Ra
tnadēva

with lion symbol on the reverse.

The Largest find of the Gold Coins

This was reported from Sonsari, a village in the Tahsil and District of Bilaspur C. P. The total number of coins discovered was 600 (six hundred). They were found buried underground carefully put into a copper jar. A detailed description of the find is as follows:

1. Prithvīdēva (1140-1160 A.D.)	405 coins	54 coins
	middle size	small size
	W. 59.3 ¹¹	W. 14
	S. 78	S. 52
2. Jajjaladēva (1160-1175 A.D.)	29 coins	7 coins
3. Ratnadēva (1175-1190 A.D.)	68 coins	28 coins

Other than Haihaya ones:

4. Govinda Chandra	2 coins
5. Unknown	2 coins
6. Unknown	5 coins

Total = 511 plus 89 = 600

I regret that I could not myself examine this hoard of 600 gold coins and am, therefore, unable to make further observation upon them. My cordial thanks are due to Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., for kindly going through this paper and to Mr. M. A. Suboor for his courtesy in noting down the weights of the various gold and copper coins of the Haihaya Princes, available in the cabinet of the Central Museum, Nagpur, C. P. for many useful suggestions.

J. Allan Esq., M.A., was pleased to remark in his letter of 4-12-39, on the *archer type* of copper coins of *Jajjaladēva* as follows:

"Many thanks for your letter to Dr. Barnet. I am much interested to learn of the coin of Jajjaladeva, the Haihaya. It seems to be quite new and I do not quite know what it should be compared with. The type goes back to a Gupta Archer type which survived upto the 7th century as the later Guptas or perhaps later on through their imitations, we get from Eastern Bengal.

The discovery shows how much can be discovered by a painstaking researcher devoting himself thoroughly to a particular era."

Sir H. Bomford K.C.T.E., I.C.S., lately Governor of Central Provinces, to whom my paper on Haihaya Coins was submitted in manuscript for perusal and opinion, was pleased to write under date 16—6—38:

"Many thanks for your note on the coins of Haihaya kings, which I have read with interest. I am not however in a position to offer my useful criticism or opinion. I have, however, not the least doubt that the idea that the coins of Pratāpamalla were of Napaitsē origin was erroneous. Coins of Nepal of that age would not be found in the Hoysala region. I know the Malia rulers of Nepal struck in silver only.

¹¹ These weights and sizes may slightly differ in coins of the same or different kings of this dynasty. Difference in weight is due to good or bad condition of the coins.

REVIEWS

The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq

[By 'AGHA MAHDI HUSSAIN, Lecturer in History and Politics,
Agra College: Publishers LUZAC & Co. Pp. 262. Price sh. 15]

The book is an elaboration of the author's thesis for the Ph. D. Degree of the London University and is a good attempt at a better understanding of not only this much maligned monarch of the Sultanate period, but of other little understood problems of the times like the lot of the Hindus under Muslim rule.

That Muhammad Bin Tughluq has been "one of the most grossly misunderstood" is due to the fact that contemporary writers like Ibn-Batuta, Ziya-ud-din Barani, 'Iṣ mi' the author of the *Futuh us Salatin*, were all men who had suffered in some way or other at his hands, or who did not like him for his 'free thought and rationalism', especially his treatment of the Ulama and Maulvis. The Qazis of the Empire had declared war on him and had approved of his assassination. Ibn-Batuta was an important Qazi. Disgusted with the Sultan he spent the later years of his stay in S. India at Madura in the land of Ma'bar, an important centre of discontent and rebellion during the reign. Ziya-ud-din Barani is specially responsible for portraying the Sultan as a mixture of opposites and he does it by "making use of hyperbolical and satirical expressions" and "by expressing repeatedly and in a peculiar manner his bewilderment at understanding him". 'Iṣmi' again belonged to the ranks of the discontented and spent most of his years in the Deccan in the court of Hasan Bahmini, another successful rebel against the Sultan. He is largely responsible for the story about Baha-ud-din being skinned alive and the skin being stuffed with straw and paraded in the streets. He is also responsible for the highly coloured account of the transfer of the capital. As against these accounts of partisan writers, it is an irony of fate that no official records of the reign exist and the one good source of information discovered by the author, namely, the Sultan's Autobiography is meagre and insufficient. In spite of these handicaps the author has done well to present to us an yet another and more charitable interpretation of this great Sultan than the ones we have had so far. He has been able to do this largely by evolving his own chronological order for the events of

the reign, in place of the one given by Barāni and usually followed by most modern historians of the reign. The author has put the crux of the problem thus. (See p. 136) "Barani's history is not a chronological account of the reign. He gives an event precedence not because it happened first but because it struck his imagination most. Evidently, by putting the enhancement of revenue in the Doab at the head of the Emperor's projects he does not mean to say that it was the first of all those formed, and that it was followed by others, namely, the transfer of the capital to Deogir, the introduction of the token currency and the Khurasan and Qarochil expeditions. It would be absurd to take these events in the order described by Barani. Yet Mr. Moreland assumes Barani's order of events as correct. "At the outset of his reign", says he, "Muhammad decided to enhance the revenue of the river country. Not long afterwards the king carried out his plan of transferring the capital etc." By putting down an event which took place much later, practically at end of his period of projects as having taken place at the beginning, 'the Sultan is made to appear like one who did things in a purely obstinate senseless manner. Therefore one chief aid to a better understanding of the Sultan is to arrange the events of the reign on a more reasonable basis of the sequence and the author has succeeded very well in this.

We will now take one or two episodes of the reign where the author tried to read the Sultan's career better. As regards the Mongol invasion of Tarmashirin and the alleged cowardice of the Sultan in buying off the Mongol chieftain, the author says that there is no evidence for this. Even Barani does not refer to it. In the early years of the reign, the Sultan's administrative organisation was very efficient—even distant provinces like Dwarasamudra, Ma'bar, Kampila, Warangal etc. were held well from the centre. It is not likely that a strong king of his calibre would have surrendered in this weak manner to the foreigner. If Muhammad Bin Tughlaq welcomed him here and lavished much wealth on these Mongols, it was not because he was afraid to face them in fight but because he was already planning an expedition against Khurasan and he wanted information and help later in this cause, from Tarmashirin. Ibn Batuta had stopped at Bukhara and spent two months with Tarmashirin on his way to India and he does not mention about any such invasion by him.

As regards the transfer of the capital to Deogir, Dr. Hussain cites Barani for his view that it was only the upper class Muslims

that were asked to transfer their residence to the new capital and not the masses who were largely composed of Hindus. The Sultan's idea was to establish a colony of Muslim culture in the South, especially with a view to convert the Hindus there. There was no occasion for a war of conquest there. It was therefore only with a view to establish a centre of Muslim culture there. Delhi was therefore not deserted completely. Dr. Hussain derives further support for his view from the Sanskrit inscription belonging to the years 1327—28 which attests to the prosperous condition of the Hindu peasants in the neighbourhood of Delhi immediately after the time of the so-called transfer of the population. The story of Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din Zarradi related in the *Siyar ul Aulaja* further supports this view. Further, none of the eleven contemporary travellers whose observations are contained in the *Masalik-ul-Absar*, a work compiled some ten years after the so called destruction of Delhi, has made any such reference to Delhi. No doubt the forcing of the 'ulama' and the mashaikh to move to Dcogir caused much displeasure to the gentry and it remained a sore point with them for the rest of the reign. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the action of the Sultan contributed much to strengthen the Muslim elements in the Deccan, and when disruption began within the Empire, if a great Muslim kingdom known as Bahmini kingdom arose there, it was largely a result of this exodus of Muslim culture earlier in the reign.

However, as regards the question whether the rebellion in the Punjab in 1335 was or was not due to the enhanced taxes in the Punjab, we are afraid the author is overshooting the mark when he says that there was no general increase of taxes ordered by the Sultan and that the rebellion was due to the failure of the rains coupled with the disbanding of the large army (of 3,50,000) got ready for the Khurasan expedition. So long as these Rajput clans were on the roll, their lands had not to pay the usual amount of tax. When disbanded, not only their pay was stopped, but they had to pay full tax. They would not do this and would not work on their lands. On the other hand, they tried to intimidate the Government, depending on their fighting capacity. No government worth the name could keep quiet in the face of such resort to force. So the Sultan had to fight them. But after putting down their rebellion, he was prepared to be generous, and so made large remission of taxes and advanced loans for agriculture. All this appears to be special pleading, unsupported by evidence of any sort.

We can however join with him in his summing up the character and achievements of Muhammad when he says that "he was neither visionary nor impractical, nor inherently unsound, nor his grandiose schemes beyond the range of human possibility. He was far in advance of his age, and could not, like a modern government, exploit religion, which he should have left to itself, if he wanted to rule successfully. He roused the opposition of the 'ulama' and in his attempt to reform them he not only paralysed the right arm of the State but raked up hostilities, before which he succumbed and his imperialism perished."

The book discloses the author's lack of adequate knowledge of the contemporary history of the Deccan, particularly of the great Kakatiya Empire, as well as of the topography of the Andhra country which occupies the entire south-eastern portion of the Deccan. An instance of this kind is his reference to Rajamahendry and its situation, Dr. Hussain thinks that its principal Hindu temple was not destroyed by Ulugh Khan and that it lay in the kingdom of Orissa at that time (p. 61). It was the provincial capital, the seat of the Kakatiya viceroy and was second city of importance in the great Kakatiya Empire of Pratāpa Rudra. Here there was a famous temple of Vishṇu (Vēṇu Gōpāla) which was demolished by Ulugh Khan and converted into a mosque. The architecture of the mosque is purely Eastern Chālukyan, and its origin can be clearly traced even today. It is on the main doorway of this mosque that the inscription referred to by the author is to be found.

S. VENKATACHARI

Humayun Badsha

[By S. K. BENERJEE, Reader in Indian History, Lucknow University: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 8.]

The book is an amplification of the author's thesis for the Ph. D. Degree of the London University submitted in the year 1925, modified in the light of later knowledge and experience. The present volume brings the story of that "gifted but unfortunate monarch" down to his defeat at the hands of Sher Khan in 1540 and the rest of the story is to be continued in another volume. In writing this account the author has made use of all available sources for the reign including the local histories of kingdoms like Guzerat, Bengal etc. In the opinion of Vincent Smith "Humayun, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his versatile father". In the

author's opinion, though these observations contain some truth they do not sufficiently express the greatness of his character nor explain the reasons for his failure, and he has therefore, set before himself the task of striking a better balance between his virtues and defects.

• He naturally stresses on his scholarship and his humane instincts as seen throughout his career, for instance, in his treatment of the Khalifa who plotted to place his aunt's husband, Mahdi Khwāja, on the throne immediately after the death of his father, his treatment of the Mirzas in spite of their repeated treachery, and of his brothers who were always causing him some trouble or other. Babur's last advice to Humayun was "Do naught against your brothers, even though they may deserve it". But he seems to have shown the same amount of kindness to other relations also like the Mirzas, and also a desire not to beat his enemies too much, enemies like Bahadur Shah and Sher Khan. This ought to be considered culpable weakness on the part of a king set to rule a country newly conquered and not yet brought under any efficient system of control and administration. The author himself admits, while speaking about Humayun's leniency towards Md. Zaman Mirza after the latter's rebellion in 1537 that "Md. Zaman Mirza should not have been leniently dealt with.....He should have foreseen the difficulties which Md. Zaman Mirza would create for the State by his pretensions to high lineage and his irresponsible conduct. In fact, Humayun betrayed a softness which has always been incompatible with the stern duties of a ruler. Perhaps he excused himself on the score of his father's dying advice etc." (p. 174.)

• "Kingship knows no Kinship" should have been the guiding maxim of the king in his relation to the Mirzas. If he should be secure on the throne, his first task was to break the close alliance between Bahadur Shah of Gujerat and Sher Khan of Bihar. Still he was not for beating either of them too much. At the time of his attack on Mandasor, Humayun had timely information of Bahadur's flight from the besieged town with only five followers but he would not order an attack on the town that night nor, attack the army afterwards as it was proceeding to Mandu under the command of Sadr Khan. The author asks "What was Humayun's hesitation due to? Was it that Humayun took pity on Bahadur and did not desire to add to his distress?" Again after the conquests of Gujerat which was not really over, when Humayun was returning to Agra on account of his brother Askari's hostile movements there, he did not make proper arrangements to convey the wealth

got at Champanir to Agra or Delhi with the result that Bahadur Shaw was able to recover it, nor did he settle affairs with Bahadur by arriving at some workable proposition with him that would wean him permanently from his alliance with Sher Khan. So that Dr. Benerjee himself admits that "in short, Humayun was a poor reader of the future. He betrayed lack of statesmanship and allowed his enemies an opportunity of queering the pitch for his cause in Gujarat. He could have averted his doom by a proper and skilful co-ordination of his moves. Not only thereby could he have broken up the secret alliance between Bahadur and Sher Khan, but he could have also befriended Bahadur and hoist Sher Khan with his own petard by exploiting against him Bahadur's friendship so far coveted by Sher Khan. But he let the grass grow under his feet not only in this manner through his diplomatic shortcomings but in a more direct manner by idling away time at certain very critical moments. "After his first campaign against the Afghans he lingered in Delhi to found his capital Din-panah though conscious of the danger from Gujarat. After a strenuous campaign in Gujarat, he let time drift at Mandu during February—May 1536, and again after his return to Agra, he did not move out for a year from August 1536—July 1537 though he knew of Sher Khan's menace in the east.

Probably while at Mandu in the previous year, he had increased his daily dose of opium and become a confirmed opium-eater. Later on we find during his Bengal campaign that he dawdled away nearly a year at Gaur though his men and animals were dying in large numbers on account of the unhealthy climate there, and thus allowed his foe Sher Khan to come in between himself and Delhi, besides encouraging the ambitious spirits in Delhi to rise up against him under the leadership of his vain brother Hindal. So that Dr. Banerjee himself admits that Humayun's defeat at Chausa in June 1539 was the direct result of his prolonged stay in Malarious Bengal and his indifference to administration. In spite of all this admission the author's explanation of Humayun's fate as a matter of "a painful struggle between his head and heart, in which the latter almost always triumphed" fails to convince us, and his attempt to strike a better balance between his virtues and defects cannot be put down as a great success radically altering the generally accepted reading of Humayun's personality and achievements as a ruler.

The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan.

[By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D. 6" x 9½".
Pp. xv+417. With one map. Published by the CALCUTTA
UNIVERSITY, 1939. Stiff bound. Price not stated.]

The early political history of southern and western India is beset with considerable difficulties. Pioneer workers like the late Drs. Fleet, Bhandarkar, Hultzsch, Rapson, Rice, Venkayya, Krishna Sastri and Narasimhacharya, have no doubt cleared the ground and shown us the right path. But the extremely complicated nature of the domestic and foreign relations of the rulers, and the different scripts in which the early records are engraved are some of the pitfalls across which students are likely to stumble, even when these latter are gifted with industry, patience, and an analytical spirit. But every attempt, like the one before us, which helps us to elucidate the complex post-Satavahana period, based on the sober evidence of palaeography and epigraphy deserves praise and careful perusal.

Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar's object in the work under review has been to "bridge the gulf between the Śātavāhanas and the Calukya periods". (Preface, p. vii.) He, therefore, attempts to deal "with the successors of the Śātavāhanas, who held sway in the vast region of the Deccan, mainly inhabited by the Telugu and Kanarese peoples, before the foundation of the Calukya empire". (*Ibid*). And in doing so, he describes the rulers of the following dynasties:—The Ikṣvākus, the Bṛhatphalyanas, the Ānandas, the Śrīlankāyanas, the Viṣṇukundins, and the Pallavas, all of whom, according to the learned author, (belonged to? and) reigned in the Eastern districts; and the early Kadambas of the lines of Mayūraśarman, Kṛṣṇavarman and others, and the Kekayas, all of whom reigned in the Western districts of the Deccan. Dr. Sircar then deals with the question of the Yavanas and the Pārasikas, the Alluru inscription, the grants of Nandavarman II, Mādhavavarman I and Jayasimha I, the *śrāvamedha* sacrifice and its importance, the problem of the *divyas*, the Vayalur list of the early Pallavas, the *kārya* style in the inscriptions, and finally, brings these ten appendices to an end with a set of useful chronological tables. In the *addenda et corrigenda* (pp. 395—404) he rectifies in some places minor sins of omission and commission that have crept in the work.

Two of the most noticeable features of this interesting book are, firstly, the definite stand which the learned author rightly

takes by epigraphic records, and, secondly, the occasional confirmation by linguistic or palaeographic evidence which is brought to bear upon the subject. Moreover there is the marked endeavour to give a connected account of the annals of the various dynasties, at least as much as is allowed under the circumstances. This makes perhaps speculation inevitable, and that is the fourth feature of the work.

It may be remarked here that, on the whole, Dr. Sirkar is a close follower of Prof. Dr. J. Dubreuil in matters of chronology, although he sometimes does not hesitate to rectify the errors of that French scholar (*e. g.*, p. 65). Of the six dynasties that ruled in the Eastern districts of the Deccan— the Ikṣvākus, the Br̥hatphalīyanas, the Ānandas, the Śāṅkīyanas, the Viṣṇukundins, and the Pallavas, it may be said that their early records admit, among other factors, of palaeographic discussion based on some sort of linguistic data. But these records do not possess any definite chronological evidence, and hence all chronological assertions concerning the rulers of these dynasties can be only speculative in nature. This is evident when we see how Dr. Sirkar tentatively assigns the rulers to approximate periods. (Pp. 23, 73, 81, 89, 110-122, et cct.) The same chronological uncertainty marks the learned author's remarks on Kadamba history (pp. 232 seq.)

In order to be convinced about the unacceptable nature of Dr. Sirkar's chronology, we may see how he fixes the reigns of the early Kadamba kings, who seem to have succeeded the later Śāta-vāhanas in the Deccan. Dr. Sirkar rejects the evidence of later traditions concerning the Kadamba rulers as "of little historical value." (P. 233). And yet when occasion arises, he does not hesitate to utilize later traditions, as can be seen from the rather summary manner in which he locates the Kuntala country (P. 215 seq.), or when he makes Mayūravarma a Brahman (P. 228 seq.) Incidentally we may observe that some of his explanations, *e. g.* that relating to the term Brahma-Kṣatriya (P. 229), seem to be somewhat novel. Supposing we accept Dr. Sirkar's statements concerning the disputed question of the historicity of the persons preceding Mayūravarma (or Mayūraśarma), we reach the dates 320—350 A. D. as the probable dates of that monarch's accession (P. 233). It would be better to give *verbatim* the speculative statements of the author concerning Mayūravarma. "Supposing that Mayūraśarma's reign began about the middle of the fourth century and that the reign-periods of the four predecessors of Kākusthavarma (*viz.* Mayūraśarma, Kaṇḍavarma, Bhagiratha, and Raghu)

together covered about a century we arrive at about the middle of the fifth century for the period of K kustha." (P. 233). And Dr. Sirkar then would place K kustha in the middle of the fifth century A. D. (*Ibid*, p. 233). If we accept this age given to Kākustha, we cannot understand how it can be made to square with the date, between 415—503 A. D. which the same scholar gives to the reign of Kakustha's grand-son Mṛgeśavarman (Pp. 234—5)! Certainly it cannot be that the reign of K kusthavarman and that of his grand-son coincided with each other!

The reason why Dr. Sirkar arrives at the age 450 A. D. for K kustha is because he follows the late Dr. Fleet in this detail. Fleet gave an ingenious explanation of a statement occurring in the Halsi grant of K kusthavarman, and relating to the issuing of that record in the eightieth year (*Indian Antiquary*, VI, p. 23; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 291; Sirkar, *ibid*, p. 233-34). Fleet opined that the eightieth year was to be counted from the *paṭibandha* of Mayūravarman. But it would have been better if equal credence had been given to the more rational explanation given by Rice long ago in the following words:—"The victory in the eightieth year of which Kākustha was *yuvārāja* might (if it is correct) perhaps refer to the events by which Mayūravarman (to give his name in the form of that of a king) gained his throne, which would thus be at the beginning of the fourth century. But if he had predecessors going back to four or five generations, the rise of the Kadambas may safely be placed early in the third century, the time at which the Śātavāhana power came to an end." (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 24). We have chosen the early Kadambas out of the other dynasties mentioned by Dr. Sirkar simply because the records of the early Kadambas afford many clues to the proper settlement of the chronological and historical difficulties of the period. And when once we argue on the strength of an earlier date for king Mayūravarman the historicity of a number of dynasties connected directly or indirectly with that famous monarch, we find that we have little to accept from Dr. Sirkar's assertions concerning Kadamba and non-Kadamba chronology.

However it would be doing injustice to the learned author if, because of his unstable chronology, we were to dispense with the very many valuable facts with which his work abounds. When all things are said, it may be opined that no historian of the Deccan can fail to profit by this assiduous attempt of Dr. Sirkar, who has diligently unravelled the intricate political problems of the Deccan during the centuries that followed the collapse of the great Śāta-

vāhana Empire and the rise to power of the famous Cālukya dominions.

B. A. SALETORÉ.

Kausambi in Ancient Literature

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 60.)

[By DR. BIMALACHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D., Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India: Published by the Manager of Publications, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Delhi, 1939. Pp. 22. Price Rs. 1—10—0 or 2 sh. 6 d.]

The interesting monograph under review deals with one of the most important cities of ancient India. It is divided into six sections, viz., (1) antiquity and origin of the name of Kauśāmbi, (2) its general description and topography, (3) the Vaśas or Vatsas and their land, (4) political history of Vatsa with its capital at Kauśāmbi, (5) the Vatsa king Udayana, his parents, queens and children, and (6) Vatsa and Kauśāmbi in religious history. There are a useful index, and three illustrations of the site of Kauśāmbi, the modern village of Kosam (Kosamba Kauśāmba, or bī) in the Allahabad District, U. P. There is also a good sketch map of the Allahabad District showing all important ancient sites.

The treatment of the subject is quite satisfactory as in the other similar works from Dr. Law's pen. We may however draw the attention of the learned author to an interesting inscription which has escaped his notice. At p. 13 of the work, Dr. Law refers to the inscription in the Kara fort, which is dated in V. S. 1093=1036 A.D. in the reign of Pratihāra Yaśa p la and records the grant of a village in the Kauś mba-maṇḍala. He observes, "The history of Vatsa or the country of Kanśāmbi as a political unit ended with the rule of Yaśa p la of Kanauj." There is however another inscription in a ruined temple at Meohar, seven miles from Kosam. This record (*J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 695 f.) is dated in V. S. 1245=1189 A. D. in the reign of Gahaḍavāla Govindachandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.) and records the construction of a temple of Sidheśvara (Mahadeva) at Mehavaḍa in the Kauś mba-pattalā. This record therefore proves the existence of Kauś mbi as a political unit during the time of the later Gahaḍavālas, immediately after whom the country passed to the Muslim conquerors. It is possibly at the time of the Muslim rulers that Kauś mbi was made a part of the political unit of Prayaga or Allahabad. Dr. Law's work will certainly prove to be a useful book of reference to the students of ancient Indian history and geography.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR,

THE XVII ANNUAL REPORT OF THE WORKING OF
THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY,
RĀJAHMUNDRY, FOR THE YEAR 1938-39.

Presented to the General Body at its 17th Annual Meeting
held on Sunday 2—4—1939.

At the last annual general body meeting held on 1—5—1938,
after having been adjourned twice previously, the following Office-
bearers for the year 1938—39 were elected:

President:

K. N. Anantaraman Esq., M.A., I.C.S.

Vice-President:

Sri Nyapati Kameswara Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.

Hon. Secretary:

Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L.

Hon. Treasurer:

Sri K. S. Gopala Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.

Hon. Librarian & Curator:

Sri V. S. Ramachandramurti, M.A., B.Ed.

(resigned on 17-7-39 and in his vacancy was elected)

Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri, M.A., B.Ed.,

Ordinary Members of the Managing Council:

Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.

Sri M. Sambasiva Rao.

Sri Mallidi Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.

The year under report is another land mark in the history
and progress of the Society, and we have great pleasure in stating
that the Society had shown during the year definite signs of progress.

Ordinary Members:

During the year on the whole there had been encouraging
increase in the membership of the Society. Last year the number
on the rolls of ordinary membership was 141 and this year it had
increased by an addition of as many as nine new members. Further
it was due to the interest which the President took in the affairs
of the Society that the Society received great encouragement from

several gentlemen who otherwise would have neglected the care of the Society. There is good deal more to be accomplished in this direction and it is hoped the Managing Council in the coming year will take up the threads and complete the task.

Life Members and Honorary Members:

In this year there had not been any additions to the number of *Life* and *Honorary Members*. It is the desire of the Council to confer the Honorary Membership upon distinguished scholars in the country as a mark of appreciation of their valuable work in the cause of literary and historical research. The most notable of such scholars is Sri Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, who is well known for his great erudition and literary output. With this year the terms of the Honorary Membership of Sri Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao and Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma will expire. Considering the services rendered by Sri Somasekhara Sarma in the cause of the Society and his connection with it as well, it is but meet that we should re-elect him in this general body for another term of Honorary Membership, according to our Rules. During this year were elected two highly respected and reputed scholars of Andhra, viz., Dr. C. Ramalinga Reddi, M.A., (Cantab) D.Litt., M.L.C., the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University and Rao Saheb Mahopadhyaya G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, B.A., K.H.G., *Kala Prapurna*, Honorary Correspondent of the Department of the Archaeological Survey of India, as Hon. Presidents of the Society. These two gentlemen will hold the dignity for three years, till the end of 1941—42. The Society did not elect any gentlemen during the year as Honorary Vice-Presidents.

Managing Council.

There were during the year eleven meetings of the Managing Council at which the business of the Society was transacted. There were also two occasions when owing to the urgency of the matters involved, resolutions were adopted unanimously by circulation of the agenda among the members of the Council. It is a matter of pleasure to record that all the members of the Council took a keen and vigorous interest in the management of the Society. Though Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao was not a member of the Council, he was always co-opted to the Council meetings to give the benefit of his views on matters concerning the *Reddi Sanchika* and Reddi Empire Day celebrations as he happened to be the Editor of the *Reddi Sanchika*.

Library and Reading Room.

The most important event of the year is the shifting of the Library, Museum and the Free Reading Room of the Society, from the Theosophical Society at the southern end of the town into the present premises near the Government Training College, in the heart of the town. The rent for these premises which consist of a suite of rooms (a hall and a room) is Rs. 12 per mensem excluding the cost of electric lighting etc. which comes up to Rs. 2 per mensem. This is important because the Managing Council had been trying its best to bring back the Society into the town for the last three years but in vain. We shifted into these new premises on the 9th November 1938, and the formal opening took place five days later on the 14th November. The Managing Council lost no time in intimating the fact of the shifting of the Society into the town to all the local educational institutions, and that had the desired result. The new premises, being centrally situated in the convenient and prominent neighbourhood of the Government Training and Arts Colleges and other schools, the Society's Library and Free Reading Room have become more attractive than before and the daily attendance of the public and the members has been satisfactorily increasing.

Library

Towards the close of the year, the Managing Council on the suggestion of Mr. R. Subba Rao appointed a clerk on Rs. 15/- per mensem to take stock of all the publications both Telugu and English up to date and prepare a Revised Catalogue to substitute the old one which had become out of date. This had been necessary owing to the expansion and growth of the Library. Moreover, the revision of the catalogue was undertaken to make it up-to-date and useful. The stock taking of the publication was also felt to be necessary as year after year the Auditor had been pointing out the desirability of keeping a stock register. The work was done satisfactorily by the clerk.

There have been many additions to the Library and to the Museum as well. Most important among the additions may be mentioned the latest Archaeological publication under the authority of the Government of India, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro* by Dr. Earnest Mackay, in two volumes. In this connection the Society takes the opportunity to offer its most grateful thanks to the Director-General of Archaeology in India for his

sympathy in every matter connected with the furtherance of the objects of the Society. Among the additions to the Museum are the following: Mr. R. Subba Rao has presented another C. P. grant of the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarma-Chodaganga, dated S. S. 1005 and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao has presented to the Society an Eastern Chalukya C. P. grant of Sarvalokasraya Maharaja of the seventh century and also three fragments of Reddi Copper-Plate Charters. These copper-plate charters are by a curious accident happened to be shared equally by the local Gautami Library and ourselves. But all these charters have been published in full in the *Journal* of the Society, Vol. XI, Parts 3 and 4 under the joint editorship of Messrs B. V. Krishnarao and R. Subba Rao. The other two sets also were edited by their respective donors in the latest issue of the *JAHS* (Vol. XII, Part 1) with plates. These copper-plates are very valuable ones. The Society is indeed proud in publishing in the pages of its *Journal* the only copper-plate grant of the time of the Reddi king Kumaragiri of Kondavidu. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao has also presented a few coins of the Ikshvāku kings to the Museum. The coins are very important and their acquisition by the Society is a matter for rejoicing, and very soon a paper on them which is being prepared by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao will appear in the *Journal* of the Society. The Council places on record its thankfulness to these donors.

Activities of the Society

During the year the Society deputed three of its members, viz., Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., and Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L., as delegates to attend the Second Indian History Congress held at Allahabad under the presidency of Prof. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, M.A., Carmichael Professor of Indian History and Culture (Calcutta University, Retired), during October, last year. Mr. R. Subbarao contributed a paper on "The Commencement of the Ganga Era" and Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao "On the date of Malavalli Stone Pillar Inscription of the Kadamba king Sivakhandavamma and the rise of the Pallavas of Kanchi". Mr. R. Subba Rao alone, of the three gentlemen, was, able to attend the Congress. An encouraging feature of this was that the Session of the Second History Congress was good enough to appreciate the large volume of important and original contributions of the Society and its *Journal* to the cause of Indian History. As a result of this, the Session elected Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, Hon. Editor of the *Journal* and Hon. Secretary, to the Committee of

Scholars who were appointed to explore the possibility and desirability of writing a comprehensive scientific History of India.

During the year the Society published Vol. XI of the *Journal*, Parts 1 & 2, in April and 3 & 4 in October 1938 and part 1 of Vol. XII in March this year. It has not been possible to publish the remaining parts Vol. XII. which is the Volume for the year 1938-39.

Reddi Empire Day and Reddi Samchika.

It is gratifying to record that in this year substantial progress has been made with regard to the Reddi Empire Day Celebrations and the *Reddi Samchika*. About the beginning of this year, it was resolved at a meeting of the Managing Council held on 12-6-1938 to celebrate the Reddi Empire Day in September last year, and to purchase printing paper of about 30 reams of D/C size for the *Reddi Samchika*, out of the sum donated by the Patron-President, the Maharani Saheba of GADWAL, and to commence the printing of the *Samchika* immediately. For that purpose the Reddi Samchika Editorial Board was strengthened by the addition of Mr. M. Anna Reddi. Again at the next meeting of the Managing Council, it was resolved that the Hon. Secretary and Mr. V. Appa Rao, Editor of the *Reddi Samchika* should prepare a programme for the Reddi Empire Day Celebration and that the celebration should be held on two consecutive days in the third week of October instead of in September 1938. At the next meeting of the Managing Council Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D. of Guntur and Mr. S. Pratapa Reddi, B.A., B.L., Editor of the *Golkonda Patrika*, Secunderabad (Dn.) were elected to the Editorial Board to assist the Society in bringing out a good volume of the *Reddi Samchika*. For reasons over which the Council had no control the celebration could not be held in October. But they were able to purchase paper in December 1938 for the printing work, about 33 reams, and commence the printing work of the *Reddi Samchika* with the funds placed at their disposal by Dr. C.R. Reddy from out of the sum donated by the Patron-President, the Maharani of Gadwal. At the same time Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao and Mr. Anna Reddi were deputed to go to all places between Madras and Vizagapatam and collect donations for the *Reddi Samchika* as quickly as possible. It was resolved in that meeting of the 18th December to celebrate the Reddi Empire Day in the Easter of 1939. Mr. Appa Rao could not accompany Mr. Anna Reddi as originally planned to collect funds for the *Reddi Samchika* in the Christmas holidays. After hearing the statement made by Mr.

Anna Reddi regarding the matter of collections etc., the Council at its meeting on 21—1—1939 resolved to request Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao to co-operate with Mr. M. A. Reddi in the matter of collections of donations in the place of Mr. V. Appa Rao who could not go out. At the same meeting a committee consisting of Messrs R. Subba Rao, V. Appa Rao and B. V. Krishnarao the latter as Convener was appointed to draft a programme for the celebrations. The draft programme prepared by the Secretary and Mr. R. Subba Rao was adopted and the celebrations were fixed for the 7th, 8th and 9th April 1939 at a meeting of the Council held on 12—2—39. Also the Council resolved after due consideration and discussion of all the matters connected with the question of the *Reddi Sanchika* and Reddi Empire Day Celebration, to appoint Mr. Anna Reddi as Joint Editor of the *Reddi Sanchika* in order that he might assist Mr. Appa Rao in the work of expediting the publication of the *Reddi Samchika* and the collection of funds by way of donations. We are glad to announce here that during the last week of the last month Mr. B. V. Krishnarao and Mr. M. A. Reddi toured the villages in Ramachandrapuram taluk which have a predominant Reddi population and collected a sum of Rs. 400 by way of donations for the publication of the *Reddi Sanchika* and the celebration of the Reddi Empire Day. This is indeed very gratifying. In this connection the Society's thanks are due in no small measure to the enthusiastic support rendered by Mr. Dwarampudi Rama Reddi of Anaparti and Mr. Mallidi Sattireddi, Editor, *Reddi Rani*, Rayavaram, but for whose help and co-operation the Council could not have been able to accomplish anything. It is hoped that M. Anna Reddi, Mr. S. Pratapa Reddi and other members of the *Reddi Sanchika* Editorial Board will tour villages in the West Godavari and other districts and also Hyderabad State and other cities in the Telingana, for the purpose of collecting donations for the *Reddi Sanchika* etc. in the coming year, and bring out a publication which would be a monumental work. The names of the donors and their donations appear at the end in Appendix A.

In this connection mention may be made of the services rendered Mr. B. V. Krishnarao and Mr. M. A. Reddi at Madras by attending the 11th Reddi Conference held on the 26th Feb. 1939 at Madras. There Mr. Krishnarao made an announcement regarding the Reddi Empire Day Celebration and the *Reddi Sanchika* and earnestly appealed for financial help.

The Reddi Empire Day Celebrations will come off, God-willing, on the 7th, 8th and 9th instant and it is hoped that the new

Managing Council will faithfully carry out the commitments and make the occasion a really memorable one.

In this connection the Society takes the opportunity to express its thanks to the Director-General of Archaeology for granting readily permission to the assistants of the Department at Madras to contribute articles to the *Reddi Sanchika* at the request of the Hon. Secretary and also to the Superintendent for Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras for specially lending exhibits to the Historical Exhibition to be arranged on the occasion.

Distinguished Visitor to the Society

Shortly after the removal of the Society's Library into the new premises, the Society was honoured by the visit of Rao KASINATH NARAYAN DIKSHIT Bahadur, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., *Director-General of Archaeology in India*, New Delhi. The *Director-General* visited Rajahmundry on the 9th January 1939. Accompanied by the Hon. Secretary, he visited some interesting localities of archaeological importance situated in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry. Among them mention may be made of the site of ancient Buddhist monasteries, temples and rock cut caves on the hills near Korukonda and Rampa-Yerrampalem. It will be a proper thing if the Government took steps for protecting these monuments under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. The people of Yerrampalem are needlessly interfering with the ruins and other antiquities of their place and this work which is fraught with serious consequences must be promptly stopped. Likewise the caves of Korukonda and other antiquities are fast decaying and require immediate protection.

In the evening on the 9th January last, the Council entertained the distinguished visitor at a Tea Party. Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT inspected the Library and Museum and the FREE Reading Room and left a record of his impressions of the working of the Society in the Distinguished Visitors Book. It runs as follows—

"I am glad to visit the premises of the Andhra Historical Research Society. While deeply appreciative of the work done by the Society, which is indeed credible, I would suggest that future work be organised on these lines:— 1. Funds should be collected throughout Andhradesa for a Museum which should be considered as the nucleus of the ANDHRA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM. 2. Members should be vigorously enlisted in all Andhra districts, with a local organising member in each centre, who will actively collect information and historical material, which is fast in danger of being destroyed by the vandal and ignorant cultivator. I commend

the Society as highly deserving of the encouragement and support of the enlightened sons of Andhra Desa”.

K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., F.R.A.S.B.,

Director-General of Archaeology in India.

9—1—39.

Finances of the Society

It is gratifying to inform the house that the District Board of Rajahmundry granted a sum of Rs. 200/- for the year when an application was made for an annual grant of Rs. 200. Soon after the recommendation went to the Government the Rajahmundry District Board was amalgamated with the Cocanada Board and the old District Board came into existence once more. Then the Director of Public Instruction, Madras requested the District Board to approve of the grant once more in order to give necessary sanction to it. It is now understood that the East Godavari District Board had sanctioned it and orders are being awaited for the sanction of payment from the Government. The Society takes this opportunity of tendering its grateful thanks to the President and members of the old Rajahmundry Board and the present District Board for sanctioning the grant of Rs. 200 to it. The Council earnestly appeals to all the members of the Board and its President to make this donation an yearly grant. The Society has been as usual obtaining the annual Municipal grant of Rs. 100/- from the Rajahmundry Municipality, and once more the Council publicly acknowledges its gratitude to the Municipality for the great help they have been rendering to the Society.

It is a well known fact that the Society's income is very limited, and the only sources are the subscriptions from the members and the institutions and a solitary donation. The income is utterly inadequate to the needs of the Society.

The Society makes an earnest appeal to the enlightened public of Andhra once more in the name of our dear country to come to our aid in time. It needs a permanent habitation of its own with facilities for expansion. In a word, for want of adequate financial help the Society is struggling to exist.

(For Appendix A see next page)

APPENDIX A

• *Donors for the Reddi Empire Day Celebrations.*

1.	H. H. The Maharani Saheba of Gadval (Received so far for expenses to wit purchase of paper and advance for to the printer Rs. 397—5—0).	Rs. 500
2.	Sri Tatavarti Sektarama Maheshti	Rs. 50
3.	„ P. H. Rama Reddi, Director of Agriculture, Madras.	25
4.	„ Dwarampudi Venkanna, son of Seshayya, Tossipudi	25
5.	Srimati Dwarampudi Buchayyamma wife of Venkatra- yudu, Tossipudi.	25
6.	The Reddi Mahajanas of Pasalapudi through their representative Dr. K. B. Reddy of Pasalapudi.	116
7.	Sri Kovvuri Satyanarayana Reddy, President Pan- chayat Board, Balabhadrapuram ...	25
8.	„ Satti China Venkata Reddi, Vedurupaka-Savaram	25
9.	„ Satti Sattiraju of Vedurupaka-Savaram. ...	25
10.	„ Satti Subbanna & Gangireddi of Vedurupaka Savaram	25
11.	„ Gudimetla Munireddi do. ...	5
12.	„ Malireddi Subbireddi son of Veeraswami of Pan- dalapaka.	40
13.	• „ Mallidi Abbayi, son of Seshayya of Pandalapaka.	30
14.	„ Mallidi Choudarayya, son of Nagayya, Pandala- paka.	15
15.	„ • Padala Subbanna son of Pullayya, Pandalapaka.	5
16.	„ Padala Ramayya, son of Adinarayana of Pandala- paka.	10
17.	„ Padala Sattiraju, son of Venkatanarayana, Pan- dalapaka.	5
18.	K. N. Anantaraman Esq. M. A., I. C. S. ...	5
19.	Sri Dwarampudi Venkayya, Savaram ...	25
20.	„ Kovvuri Appanna Tata of Vedurupaka. ...	5
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B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.,

Hon. Secretary.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL

Receipts and payments Account for the period

DR.		RS.	AS.	P.	RS.	AS.	P.
	<i>To Opening Balance of Cash</i>			...	269—	7—	9
	On hand. ...	...	165—	3—	7		
	In S. B. A/c. ...	...	104—	4—	2		
	„ <i>Subscriptions.</i>	...		...	686—	12—	0
	Individuals.						
	Arrears. ...	...	375—	4—	0		
	Current. ...	...	68—	0—	0		
	Institutions						
	Arrears. ...	...	108—	8—	0		
	Current. ...	...	135—	0—	0		
	„ <i>Library Fund</i> ...	...		...	125—	0—	0
	„ <i>Sales</i> ...	...		...	104—	1—	0
	Kakatiya Sanchika ...	...	6—	0—	0		
	Raja Raja Sanchika ...	...	3—	0—	0		
	Journal Volumes ...	...	95—	1—	0		
	„ <i>Donations</i> ...	...		...	850	—5—	0
	Reddy Sanchika and Reddy Empire day Cele- brations						
	„ <i>Miscellaneous.</i> ...	...		...	3—	8—	2
	Bank Commission. ...	...	0—	8—	0		
	Interest on S. B. A/c. ...	...	1—	15—	11		
	Sundries. ...	...	1—	0—	3		
	„ <i>Fines.</i> ...	...		...	0—	10—	0
	„ <i>Borrowings.</i> ...	...		...	94—	14—	0
	„ <i>Advances.</i> ...	...		...	4—	1—	3
					Rs. 2138—	11—	2

RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY

commencing from 1—4—1938 to 31—3—1939.

	RS.	AS.	P.	RS.	AS.	P.
By Journal	610—11—	3	
„ Reddy Sanchika	223—	7—	0
„ „ Embire Day.	100—	8—	0
„ Postage.	164—	1—	0
„ Binding.	48—	0—	0
„ Peon's Salary.	94—	12—	6
„ Sundry Expenses.	34—	0—	6
„ Railway Charges for journal.	2—	8—	0
„ Stationery and Printing.	18—	9—	0
„ Swéeper.	1—	14—	0
„ Library Sorting.	15—	0—	0
„ Rent.	56—	12—	9
„ Lighting Charges.	19—	9—	3
„ Purchase ef Books.	12—	12—	0
„ Honorium.	10—	0—	0
„ Bank Commission.	1—	12—	0
„ Revenue Stamps.	0—	5—	0
„ Contingencies.	2—	2—	0
„ Loans repaid.	194—	14—	0
„ Closing Balance of Cash.	527—	0—	11
On hand. ...	103—	12—	10			
In S. B. Account. ...	423—	4—	1			

Rs. 2138—11—2

Checked and found correct subject to separate report.

D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant.

THE 17TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1938—1939.

I took charge of the office from Sri V. S. Ramachandramurthy, my predecessor on 13—9—38 but I propose to deal in this report with the working of the Library for the whole year, as no separate report is being submitted by Sri Ramachandramurthy.

LOCATION.

The Library was located till 9—11—38 in the premises of the Theosophical Lodge when it was shifted to the present premises as the latter were considered to be centrally and conveniently located and within the reach of a greater number of the reading public. The effect of this shifting is best seen in the increased number of people making use of the Library, as the average number of daily visitors after the change increased to thrice the number before.

ADDITIONS.

During the year there are about 365 additions including periodicals and books for review, the number of books being about 30. Among them the most notable are: "Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro" by Dr. Ernest Mackay. Epigraphia Indica. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. Annual Reports of the Archæological Department, Annual Reports of the South Indian Epigraphy, Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology etc. Among the new exchanges, mention may be made of the Twentieth Century. There are altogether 70 periodicals on our exchange list. About a dozen of the periodicals which we had been previously getting in exchange for our Journal have now been discontinued. Attempts have been made to complete the incomplete volumes and the Secretary's efforts in this direction are bearing fruit as the missing parts are arriving, set after set. About 170 volumes have been got bound during the current year.

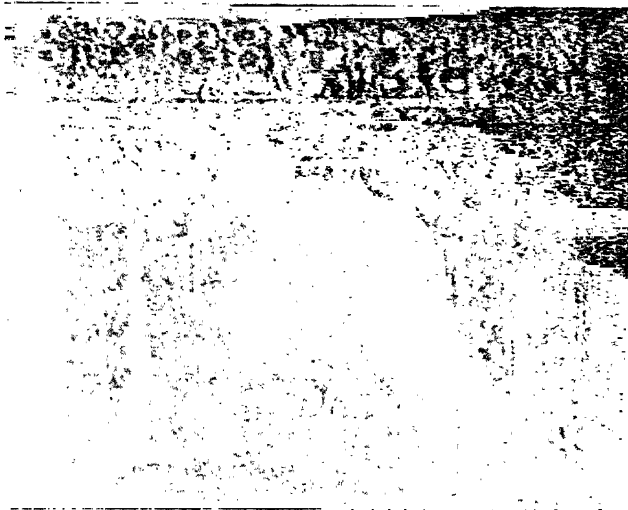
MUSEUM.

There have been a few useful additions to the Museum during the year. Mr. R. Subbarao has presented a C. P. Grant of Eastern Ganga king Anantavarma Chodaganga dated S. S. 1005. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao has presented one complete set of an Eastern Chalukya grant of Maharaja Sarvalokasraya of the 7th century and also 3 fragments of Reddi copperplate charters. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XII, PARTS I TO IV

1938-39



April, 1940

RAJAHMUNDRY

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Honorary President of the Society, 1939-40.

Vice-President for the year 1936-37.



Rao Saheb Mahopādhyāya Kalāprapūrṇa

PROF. GIDUGU VENKATA RAMAMURTI

Born 12—12—1863

Died 22— 1—1940.

By the kind courtesy of the Andhrapatrika

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XII

APRIL 1939

PART IV

SORAS AND THEIR COUNTRY

G. V. SITAPATI, B.A., L.T.

Chapter III

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES

Marriage in the sense of "a socially recognized more or less permanent union between individual men and women" seems to have been in existence among the Sōrās from time *immemorial*. The Sōrās do not share the beliefs of some other primitive people that conception in women is possible without sexual intercourse with men. Their *Cosmogonic myth* refers to the sexual union of the first human pair¹

The institution of Marriage is, with the Sōrās, as with many other races of the world, a *sacred* institution and the ceremony of marriage is performed with great religiosity and is accompanied by feasts and rejoicings.

Both infant and *adult* marriages are now in vogue, all over the Sōrā country, the former as a general rule, among the Hinduised Sōrās in the plains and on the borderland of the Agency tracts and the latter, most common in the wild country of the Sōrās. Tradition and references to marriages in the legendary stories point to the prevalence of adult marriages in the *past*.

As it is considered to be the duty of the parents to provide their sons with wives, it is generally the parents that arrange matches for their children especially in the case of the infant marriages. Many youths, however, make their own *selections*. When they are sure that their parents approve of their choice, they inform the parents who then proceed with the preliminary steps leading ultimately to marriage. Whenever they have any room to suspect

1. *Vide Appendix. 1*

that their parents may not approve of their choice, they *run away* and live as man and wife till it becomes inevitable that they should be married.

Marriage by *capture* was probably in vogue in *former* days. There are only traces of it among the customs of the present day marriages. Fawcett who investigated the Sōrās about fifty years ago writes that he heard a Gamang of one of the Kolākōta villages say:

“If a man wants a girl and cannot afford to give the liquor etc., to her people, he takes her off by force; if she likes him she remains; but if not, she runs home; he will carry her off three times but not oftener and if after the third time she again runs away, he leaves her.”

Referring to tradition, Mr. Fawcett writes, “The Sōrās themselves say that formerly, every one took his wife by force. Though the capture may be now done in a modified form, it seems certain that marriage by *capture* was a Sōrā custom.”

Elopement is, in some cases, considered to be a *heroic achievement* and is held to be a recognised form of marriage though it is regarded as inferior to the regular marriage, ceremonially gone through with the approval of the parents. Bride price must, however, be paid by the bridegroom when the bride's parents demand it. The refusal to pay the bride price makes the elopement an offence and the offender is punished. No question of bride's price arises when the couple cannot be found for a considerable length of time. Cases of sporadic elopement frequently occur either because the parents withhold their consent or because the bridegroom cannot pay the bride price.

In the case of adult marriages, there is, generally, a period of *courtship*. There are a good many opportunities for the young men and young women to meet and exchange their love in secret. It is rather curious that the Sōrās have *not* provided for separate *dormitories*, one for the bachelors and another for the maids of the village, though such a provision is made by the Mundas and some other tribes of the Kol-Munda race to which the Sōrās belong and by the Khons who live in close contact with the Sōrās. The absence of this institution of dormitories can, however, be accounted for, with reference to the fact that the *village* is the only *exogamous group* in the case of the Sōrās, as the young men and young women of one and the same village are regarded as brothers and sisters.

There are, however, many other opportunities for the unmarried young men and women of different villages to meet for courtship.

They meet, frequently, *on the hills* and in the jungles. They go together to the *shandies* (markets) held outside their country. If, on account of their burdens, their opportunities for jovial and amorous conversation are limited, their return from the shandies is, generally, very pleasant and it affords a very good opportunity for courtship. There is plenty of merry making on the bright fullmoon night of the harvest months in convenient centres of the Sōrā country, at which the unmarried young men and young women meet and make their proposals for marriage.

Sexual licence before marriage is tolerated, *provided* the members of the couple are both Sōrās of the same endogamous group and they do not violate the rules of prohibition described below. One that has intercourse with an unmarried girl will generally marry her in course of time and the obligation to marry her increases if she becomes pregnant by his intercourse. If he refuses to marry her, he is compelled to pay what is known as *Jarām* to the girl's parents for the maintenance of the child. The young woman who has thus given birth to a child before marriage is not, however, regarded as fallen and she gets married the *more easily* as she has given *proof of her fecundity*. No attempt is, therefore, made to prevent conception² which may result from premarital relations and the children of the unmarried women are not deprived of their status though they cannot inherit the property of their father.

(A) PROHIBITIONS REGULATING MARRIAGE

1. *Endogamous* :—The endogamous groups are based more or less on the subdivisions among the Sōrās³. Each of these subdivisions is generally held as an endogamous group. Practically, however, the scope for selection is further restricted by subdivisions based on political and geographical considerations. The Sōrās of the Vizag Agency and the Sōrās of the Ganjam Agency do not at all think of intermarriages though they may belong to the same social subdivision, because they are aware that they are, each under the Government of a separate Agent to the Governor. Even in the same district, other political considerations are taken into account. The Soras of one political subdivision known as a *muṭha* avoid matrimonial alliances with those of another *muṭha* on the ground that each *muṭha* is under the direct management of its own Bissoyi though both Bissoyis are subordinate to the Agent to the Governor

2 The Soras are not ignorant of contraceptives. Vide chapter, under Medicine.

3. Vide under The Sora sub divisions.

in the district. Ambājhari and Abāsing are two Sora villages which are separated by a distance of not more than a mile. Till thirty years ago they were both included in the Parlakimidi Agency and were under the same Hill Chief—the Zamindar of Parlakimidi and there were intermarriages between the Soras of the two villages as all of them were Jāti Soras (*Soras par Excellence*) subsequently, the Agency boundary was fixed between the two villages and the Agency portion was taken from the hands of the Zamindar directly into the hands of the Government and intermarriages between the Soras of the two villages have been since then, given up.

2. *Exogamous*:—The absence of totemistic groups among the Soras is very peculiar. All the other branches of the Kol-Munda race and all other primitive people have totemistic groups of their own, the Khonds who live in the vicinity of the Soras have them. Even the Savars of Chattisgarh, Sambalpur and Orissa have exogamous septs or bargas. It is only among the Soras of the Ganjam and Vizag Districts and Agencies that there is no trace of totem or sept or barga or any other group of exogamous nature except the village. The general rule relating to exogamy is, therefore, with reference to the village community. The men and women of the same village should not intermarry because according to the conception of the Soras they stand in the relation of brothers and sisters or belong to the same extended family. In every village, the tradition goes to say that this rule was strictly observed in the past. The J. du Soras or Wild Soras of the interior of the Agency still observe it. But I have noted several instances where this rule is violated. The explanation that is offered to account for the laxity or violation of the rule is very interesting because it indicates the principle involved in the same rule. A young man of Bongtelda⁴ said he had married a girl of the same village and explained that he had been permitted to do so because the girl's parents came from another village and settled there in recent times within the memory of the elders of the village. Nevertheless he paid a penalty evidently for having violated the general rule. In some other villages where such marriages occurred, the explanation that was generally offered, to the presumption that one of the two families that entered into matrimonial alliance in each case had come from outside. The bride-groom did, however, pay the penalty which has become so formal that many Soras other than the priests and the elders of the villages are not now conscious that such a

4 *Vide map*—Appendix II.

penalty is imposed for the violation of a long standing rule relating to exogamous prohibition. The violation is regarded as an offence against the deities and the village community and the fine is paid, therefore, to both. The buffalo or the pig or the goat that is paid for by the bridegroom who married a girl of his own village is sacrificed to appease the wrath of the deities and the meat is distributed among the households of the village. In addition to this, the bridegroom gives *liquor* to the villagers.

Since the only rule relating to exogamy has practically become null and void in many places, the need for imposing some other restrictions has become imperative, because the anxiety to prevent incestuous alliances is always very strong with the Soras. The following is the order of the incestuous alliances arranged according to the seriousness of offence which depends upon the nearness of blood relationship.

Class I. (of nearest blood-tie)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| (1) with mother or grandmother | (2) with sister or step-sister |
| (3) .. daughter or grand-daughter (son's daughter or daughter's daughter) | (4) .. first parallel cousins |

Class II (of distant blood-tie)

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) with mother's sister | (2) with father's sister |
| (3) .. brother's daughter | (4) .. sister's daughter |
| (5) .. first cross cousins | |

Class III (based on relationship, not blood-tie)

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) with step-mother | (2) with mother-in-law |
| (3) .. daughter-in-law | (4) .. step daughter |
| (5) .. wife's brother's wife | (6) .. younger brother's wife |
| (7) .. wife's elder sister | (8) .. father's elder brother's wife |

It may be surprising to find that in the lists given above, unions with elder brother's wife and with father's younger brother's wife are not included under Class IV as incestuous. They are considered to be adulterous but not incestuous, because custom sanctions the marriage with them when they become widows.

The Mundas have exogamous septs but even outside the sept, a Munda should not marry the sister of his mother or step mother. In some localities where the septs have been forgotten, the rule relating to exogamy is that the relatives receiving the sacramental cakes distributed at a wedding should not intermarry. I have not heard of such sacramental cakes among the Soras.

The Soras now realise that their village organisation has undergone modifications; they admit that in several places, the village has outgrown the original community which was practically co-extensive with the expanding family; they explain how, for the sake of livelihood, some of their kinsmen have left the village and live scattered in other villages, they admit that they now find it difficult to recognise their kinsmen in other villages and outsiders in their own village. In many expanding villages there is, however, the custom that the houses of the kinsmen should be together either in a row or in a cluster.

Where the matrimonial alliances within the village are made, the elders of the village are consulted, because they remember the agnate and cognate relationships of at least three generations in the village. Intermarriages among such relations are avoided.

The need for devices to determine the exogamous groups is now felt. The Hinduised Soras who have been in contact with the Telugus have adopted the system of affixing to their names, the house or family name so that the persons bearing the same house or family name may constitute one exogamous group. What device the Soras of the wild country are going to adopt, it is not possible to say? In each village there are according to social status (1) the Gamangs, (2) the Buyyas and (3) Paraj s.⁵ Each of the first two is, no doubt, an exogamous group—but only for the village. A Gamang of one village may marry the daughter of a Gamang of another village. A Buyya of one village may marry the daughter of a Buyya of another village. The Gamangs of one and the same village are considered to be the descendants of the same ancestor as the ancestor of the official Gamang of the village. The Buyyas also maintain a similar claim. The Parajas are treated as quite distinct from either the Gamangs or the Buyyas. One is tempted to infer from this that a member of any of these three groups may marry a girl of any of the remaining two groups; and that there can be no justification for the rule of prohibition which says that there should be no marriage between two persons of one and the same village. But there has been this rule of prohibition from time immemorial and though it is lax now, it was strictly observed in the past. In justification of this rule of prohibition, the Soras maintain that the several families of one and the same village have a common ancestry. But they blink when their attention is drawn to the significance of the classification under the Gamangs, the

Buyyas and the Parajas. On closer examination it becomes evident that the common ancestry is either to be traced to the remote past beyond the institution of Gamang and Buyya or to be regarded as the figment of their imagination. The Gamangs and the Buyyas look upon each other as equals and both look down upon the Parajas as inferior in social status. Either the Gamangs or the Buyyas may think of marrying the girls of the Parajas but do not generally consent to give their daughters in marriage to the Parajas. But I have noted a few instances of a young Gamang girl or a Buyya girl marrying a Paraja youth. When questioned about such instances, the Soras tell me that they are very rare and are generally cases of elopement. And the same a Gamang says that this restriction is disappearing.

Rules of prohibition relating to exogamy except those that relate to incestuous alliances are now practically violated and no serious note is taken of them, provided the penalty is paid. Open incestuous alliances are never tolerated by the society and are never attended by ceremony. The Soras do not admit that such alliances have been made. They do not take any notice of surreptitious incestuous unions. I have, nevertheless, heard of one or two instances of such unions. My informant tells me that they are unions of brother and sister who have lost their parents and other relations. The neighbours in the village, it seems, enquire of the sister in each case why she remained in the village without marrying a young man. Each of them says in reply. "My brother is all alone. He is poor and cannot get a girl in marriage. I cannot, therefore, leave him and go." Both of them are put to shame by insinuating remarks.

There are no rules of prohibition relating to age. I have noticed several cases where the wife is older than the husband by a few years—not, however, by more than four or five years. Such cases are invariably cases of adult marriages. In cases of widow marriage, the widows are generally older than their second husbands.

(B) PRELIMINARY STAGES OF MARRIAGE •

The custom relating to the preliminary stages of marriage does not seem to be uniform throughout the Sora country. It varies with the locality. Even in the same locality, it is subject to modification according to convenience. Some rude customs noticed by Mr. Fawcett about fifty years ago and by my father about forty years ago seem to have been given up in recent times. I shall, therefore, first quote from the accounts given by these two

investigators and then give an account of the preliminary stages of marriage which I have noticed during the period of my investigation.

Mr. Fawcett writes⁶ "The following is an account of the Sora marriage as given by the Gomongo of one of the Kalakota villages and it may be taken as representative of the purest Saora marriage ceremony.

"I wished to marry a certain girl and with my brother and his son went to her house; I carried a pot of liquor, one arrow and one brass bangle for the girl's mother. Arrived at the house; I put the liquor and the arrow on the floor. I and the two with me drank the liquor—no one else had any.

"The father of the girl said 'why have you brought the liquor?' I said 'because I want your daughter'. He said 'bring a big pot of liquor and we will talk about it.' I took the arrow I brought with me, stuck it in the thatch of the roof just above the wall, took up the empty pot and with those who came with me went home. Four days afterwards, with the same two or three others of my village, I went to the girl's father's house with a big pot of liquor. About 15 or 20 people of the village were present. The father said he would not give the girl, and saying so he smashed the pot of liquor, and with those of his village beat us, so that we ran back to our village. I am glad of the beating, as I knew by it I was pretty sure of success.

"About ten days afterwards, ten or twenty of my village people went with me again, carrying five pots of liquor, which we put in the girl's father's house. I carried an arrow which I stuck in the thatch beside the first one. The father and the girl's nearest male relative took each one of the arrows I had put in the thatch, and holding them in their left hands drank some of the liquor. I now felt sure of success.

["There was at this moment" (writes Fawcett) "something done with the two arrows—translated through the Uriya as 'puja'—I could not ascertain what it was exactly."]

"I then put two more arrows in the father's left hand, holding them in his hand with both of my hands over his, and asked him to drink. Two fresh arrows were likewise placed in the left hands of all the girl's male relatives while I asked them to drink. To each female relative of the girl's I gave a brass bangle, which I put on their hand wrists while I asked them to drink.

⁶ Vide pp. 232—234. The Saoras of Madras, *The Journal of the Anthropological Society* Vol. I, No. 4, 1888.

The five pots of liquor were drunk by the girl's male and female relations, and the villagers. When the liquor was all drunk, the girl's father said 'come again in a month and bring in more liquor'.

"We returned to our village, and in a month I went again with all the people of my village, men, women and children, dancing as we went (to music of course), taking with us 30 pots of liquor, and a little rice and a cloth for the girl's mother; also some hill-dholl, which we put in the father's house. The liquor was set down in the middle of the village and the villagers and those who came with me drank the liquor and danced. The girl did not join in this; she was in the house. When the liquor was finished my village people went home, but I remained in the father's house; for three days I stayed, and helped him to work in the fields. I did not sleep with the girl; the father and I slept in one part of the house and the girl and her mother in another. At the end of the three days, I went home. About ten days afterwards I with ten men of my village went to watch for the girl going to the stream for water; when we saw her we caught her and ran away with her. She cried out, and the people of her village came after us and fought with us. We got her off to my village and she remained with me as my wife. The liquor, arrows etc. were worth about 30 rupees; besides the things mentioned, I gave nothing to the girl's people. After she was my wife her mother gave her a cloth and a bangle."

On enquiry, I learn that the procedure adopted by the 'Gōmongō' in Fawcett's account started as the procedure for a regular marriage but ended in marriage by capture. Referring to the account quoted above, Mr. Fawcett observes, "I believe the capture, formerly a reality, is commonly done in a very modified form. The man, account of whose marriage has been given, being a headman, his marriage was somewhat important; in the case of ordinary individuals there is not quite so much "business".

The account given by my father and quoted by Thurston in his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* refers to the preliminary stages, leading to a regular and typical marriage, according to the custom prevailing at the time he wrote, that is, about 1894. It runs as follows:—

"When the parents of a young man consider it time to seek a bride for him, they make enquiries and even consult their relatives and friends as to a suitable girl for him. The girl's parents are informally appraised of their selection. On a certain day, the

male relatives of the youth go to the girl's house to make a proposal of marriage, (which in their language is called 'to take liquor to *Jing-jing-boi's* house; *Jing-jing-boi* is the name by which the bride is designated and the liquor is called *Jing-jing-boi-dāl-Sāl*).⁷ Her parents, having received previous notice of the visit, have the door of the house open or closed, according as they approve or disapprove of the match. On arrival at the house, the visitors knock at the door, and, if it is open, enter without further ceremony. Sometimes the door is broken open. If the girl's parents object to the match, they remain silent and will not touch the liquor brought by the visitors and they go away. Should, however, they regard it with favour, they charge the visitors with intruding, shower abuse on them and beat them, it may be, so severely that wounds are inflicted and blood is shed. This ill-treatment is borne cheerfully and without resistance as it is a sign that the girl's hand will be bestowed on the young man. The liquor is then placed on the floor and after more abuse, all present partake thereof. If the girl's parents refuse to give her in marriage after the performance of this ceremony, they have to pay a penalty to the parents of the disappointed suitor.

"Two or three days later, the young man's relatives go a second time to the girl's house, taking with them (what is called *nangādāl-Sāl* which consists of) three pots of liquor and a bundle composed of as many arrows as there are male members in the girl's family. The liquor is drunk and the arrows are presented, one to each male.

"After an interval of some days, a third visit is paid and (now *sang-sang-dāl-sāl* which consists of) three pots of liquor smeared with turmeric paste and a quantity of turmeric are taken to the house. The liquor is drunk and the turmeric paste is smeared over the back and haunches, of the girl's relatives. Sometime afterwards the marriage ceremony takes place.

"The bridegroom's party proceed to the house of the bride, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of all the musical instruments except the drum, which is only played at funerals. With them they take twenty big pots of liquor, a pair of brass bangles and a cloth for the bride's mother and head clothes for the father, brothers and other male relatives. When everything is ready, the priest is called in. One of the twenty pots is decorated and an

* 7 The words within brackets are given in this article published by the author but left out in the extract quoted by Thurston,

arrow in fixed in the ground at its side. The priest then repeats prayers to the invisible spirits and ancestors and pours some liquor into the leaf cups prepared in the names of the ancestors (*Jojonji* and *Yoyonji*, male and female) and the chiefs of the village. This liquor is considered very sacred and is sprinkled from a leaf over the shoulder and the feet of the elders, present. The father of the bride addressing the priest, says 'Buyya, I have drunk the liquor brought by the bridegroom's father and, thereby have accepted his proposal for a marriage between his son and my daughter. I do not know whether the girl will afterwards agree to go to her husband or not. Therefore, it is well that you should ask her openly to speak out her mind'. The priest accordingly asks the girl if she has any objection and she replies, 'My father and mother and all my relatives have drunk the bridegroom's liquor. I am a Savara and he is a Savara. Why then should I not marry him?' Then all the people, assembled, proclaim that the pair are husband and wife. This done, the big pot of liquor, which has been set apart from the rest, is taken into the bride's house. This pot, with another pot of liquor purchased at the expense of the bride's father is given to the bridegroom's party when it retires. Every house-holder receives the bridegroom and his party at his house and offers them liquor, rice, and flesh which they cannot refuse to partake of without giving offence."

In the accounts quoted above, no mention is made of bride price in cash whereas according to the information I have on the subject, there is now hardly a marriage where a bride price in cash is not paid except in cases of elopement as observed above.

The conversation between the girl's father and the Buyya and the open expression of consent of the girl to marry the proposed bridegroom noted in the second account quoted above are all very interesting but I learn that such a thing is not essential or invariable but is a matter for delight and enjoyment. There cannot be any significance in taking her consent just before marriage after all the preliminary stages are over. The consent of the girl is generally taken in the earliest stage.

From the second account it appears as if the marriage ceremony takes place in the bride's father's house but my information is that the marriages of the Soras invariably take place in the house of the bridegroom.

The rude custom of breaking the doors open, the abusive language and the beating mentioned in the accounts quoted above, are, I learn, given up now.

The account of the preliminary stages of marriage, which I give below is based on the description given by an intelligent member of the family of the Gamangs of Jatesing of the Ramagiri Agency. He is, at present, a teacher in a Sora school at Bongtelda near Serung of the Parlakimedi Agency. He tells me that this account illustrates what is generally obtaining in the Sora villages of the Ramagiri Agency and assures me that there is much in it that is commonly observed by the Soras all over the Sora country. Though in several matters, the Soras of this locality have adopted the manners and customs of the Oriyas, there is practically nothing of Oriya influence in the preliminary stages of marriage described below.

In arranging for a matrimonial alliance the initiative is always taken by the bridegroom's party and never by the bride's party. In cases of adult marriage, the prospective bride and bridegroom generally meet and exchange expressions of mutual love before the formal advances are undertaken by the bride-groom's parents. The young man informs his parents of his desire to marry the girl he has loved and the young woman also informs her parents especially the mother of the advances made by the young man and of her willingness to marry him. In cases of infant marriage, it is the parents that make the selection of the bride for their son. In all cases, the preliminary formal stages commence after the selection of the bride has been made and her parents have been appraised of their intention to take her in marriage.

Stage I. (*Ser-ām-dinnā* (lit. thrust-arrow-day))

On an auspicious day, two or three men, friends or relatives of the bridegroom set out with a small pot of liquor, two arrows and two finger rings; and go to the village of the bride without any music or dance. For this visit, no woman should accompany the party. It is generally in the mornings that such visits are paid to the bride's village. The visitors directly enter the house, if the doors are open and set the liquor pot on the floor near the main post and make the arrows stand by the side of the pot with their sharp arrow heads fixed in the ground. Three or four leafcups are spread near the main post and the liquor they have brought with them is poured into them. They then drink the liquor from the leaf cups sitting near the main post, leave the pot with the remaining liquor in the house and go without any further ceremony. They do, however, give particulars about the bridegroom and his parents to those present at the house. If the doors are shut, they

knock and if the inmates are not then in the house, they enquire if they are at least in the village and if they are likely to return in a few hours. They wait till they return if they are sure that they return in a short time. If they think that the inmates of the house are not likely to return till evening, they enter the house provided it is possible to do so with the help of the neighbours. If this is not possible, they do their business on the raised floor in front of the house and depart.

Such a contingency, however, does not arise generally because previous intimation is given of the visit and unless the bride's parents are unwilling to accept the match, they keep the doors open. It is, therefore, possible for the visitors to learn from the reception accorded to them, whether the bride's parents are willing or unwilling to accept the proposal. The bride's father invites his nearest kinsmen in the village as well as the Gamang and the Buyya and all of them partake of the liquor brought and left by the visitors. The visitors usually stay till the persons assembled in the house have sipped the liquor but if it be too late for them to go back to their village, they may depart.

In October 1930, when I was making some ethnological enquiries in the village of Gadung (called Buboni, by the Oriyas) near Serung. I came to know of such a visit paid to a house in the village. I, at once, proceeded to the house and saw what was going on there. The bride's father, his two brothers of the neighbouring houses, the Gamang and the Buyya sat before the leaf cups, near the main post of the house. The visitors—only two young men, were sitting on the raised platform in front of the house.

On enquiry, I learnt that they had come to the village half an hour back, brought with them a small pot of liquor, an arrow and an armlet and finding the doors closed and the inmates of the house absent sat on the pial—the raised floor in front of the house. The neighbours informed them that the inmates of the house had gone to the nearest hill side closeby and asked them to wait for a few minutes. Some one ran and informed the inmates of the visit paid to their house. The inmates returned and opened the doors. The visitors, then entered the house and did their business. The arrow which they brought was struck in the thatch of the roof above the wall, inside the house. This is in accordance with the custom indicated in the accounts given by Mr. Fawcett and my father. According to the custom prevailing in the Ramagiri Agency, the arrow is fixed upright near the main post as is described above.

By the time, I approached the house, the visitors had finished their business, sat on the pial and were about to depart. The bride's father was silent but the others that sat there were making enquiries about the bridegroom, how old he was, how he was earning his livelihood, if he had his parents alive and so forth.

I saw the bride. She appeared to be about fifteen years old. She had just returned from work on the hill side and did not look tidy. She was standing amidst a small crowd of women in front of the neighbour's house.

What is significant in this first visit is the formal proposal by the bridegroom's party accompanied by the formal acceptance of the proposal by the bride's party. In sipping liquor near the main post in the house of the bride's father the visitors signify the desire of the bridegroom's parents whom they represent, to enter into matrimonial relationship with the members of the bride's family and indicate that they are all of the same race and of the same endogamous group."

The absence of the bridegroom or his father is explained with reference to a possible contingency of refusal to accept the proposal by the bride's parents. It is difficult for the bridegroom or his father to stand the disgrace which a refusal of their proposal involves and that, in the village of the girl whose hand they seek in marriage.

When I refer to the case of the Gamang mentioned in Mr. Fawcett's accounts, some Soras tell me that where as a result of previous informal consultations, the proposal has been found acceptable, the bridegroom or his father can, without any diffidence accompany the party.

The Gamang of Ramagiri Agency mentioned above tells me that according to the custom prevailing in that locality the bridegroom or his father never accompanies the party for the first visit, however confident they may be of success. I learn that except in the interior parts of Kolakota section of the Agency, the breaking open of the doors, abusive language, beating and other primitive and crude methods of courtship and advances have been generally given up.

Stage II. *Bernā-Sāl-dinnā* (lit. conversation-liquor-day.)

Four or five days after the first visit, the second visit is paid. This time, the party consists of the elderly members of the bridegroom's village including the Gamang, the Buyya and a speaker (one that is gifted with clever and persuasive speech) the bridegroom

his father and other relatives. The bridegroom's mother and other women of the village may also accompany the party. They take with them two big pots of liquor and nothing else. The party may consist of as many as twenty persons who walk in a procession with music and dance on the way.

The bride's father invites to his house, his kinsmen and the elders of the village including the Gamang, the Buyya and a speaker. All of them sit for a parley in the house of the bride's father. The Gamang of the bridegroom's village opens the conversation. He addresses the bride's father as the bridegroom's father should address him, as "P rui!" (meaning father-in-law of one's son or daughter) and says, "How much do you demand? How many rupees? How many pots of liquor?"

"Well, forty rupees and twenty pots of liquor will do. Why should I demand more?" says the bride's father.

"What!" exclaims the bridegroom's father "Forty rupees and twenty pots of liquor! What way have we offended you, Pāruī? Why do you think of killing your son-in-law with such a heavy burden? Twenty rupees and ten pots of liquor—this is what I can pay." "No, no, nothing short of forty rupees and twenty pots of liquor. If you are not willing to pay this, we shall return the liquor which you have already offered us," says the bride's father.

Then the Gamang, the Buyya and the speaker of the bridegroom's party intercede and propose that the bridegroom's father should agree to pay and the bride's father should agree to accept not more than twenty-five rupees and twelve pots of liquor. But the bride's father refuses to accept their proposal.

• Then the Gamang or the Buyya or the speaker of the bride's party says, "Let both parties accept my suggestion. Thirty rupees and fifteen pots of liquor—this is what I think to be reasonable for the bridegroom's father to pay and for the bride's father to accept."

Both parties agree. The Gamang of the bride's village says to his Buyya, "Well, sir, go on with your *pur-pur*". The Buyya spreads the leaf cups near the main post of the house, fills them with the liquor brought by the bridegroom's party, invokes the spirits and offers them the liquor in the leaf cups. The elderly members of the bride's family, then, distribute the liquor among all present at the function. The bridegroom's party returns home.

On the 2nd November, 1930, when I and my friends—the teachers of Serung school were examining the Sora pupils of the

Sora school at Bongtelda, our attention was drawn to the sound of the pipes and drums; and on enquiry, we came to know that a bridegroom's party was just returning from the bride's village which is at a distance of about two miles from Bongtelda after the second visit. The bridegroom belongs to a village, on the other side of Bongtelda at a distance of about three miles. The party started at about ten o'clock that morning, reached the bride's village at about 11-30, stayed there for a couple of hours, finished their business and started back at about 1-30 P. M. We saw them at about 2 P.M. and stopped them on the way, opposite to the school.

The details of their visit were very brief, because we could not stop them for more than five minutes as they were hungry and therefore, in a hurry to go back to their village. They went with two pots of liquor and nothing else. The party consisted of ten persons including the bridegroom and his parents. The Gamang and Buyya of their village could not accompany them but there were two persons who could cleverly transact the business. The conversation was very pleasant. The bride's father agreed to offer the girl for twelve rupees and ten pots of liquor. The bridegroom's father agreed to pay the bride price and liquor in two instalments at short intervals as he was eager to have the marriage performed in December.

The significance of the second visit is to settle the bargain. The stipulated amount of money and liquor may be given in one or more instalments. Generally, however, they are paid in two to five instalments. But the marriage ceremony is never celebrated until and unless the amount of money and the quantity of liquor, agreed upon, have been fully paid by the bridegroom's party.

Stage III. *A-lattin-sāl-dināi*

(lit. the importunately-proffered-liquor-day)

Ten days after the bargain is settled, the bridegroom's father sends a party to the bride's house with four pots of liquor. The party contains women as well as men. Music and dance are not essential. One pot of liquor is for the use of the members of the party on the way. The remaining three pots of liquor are given to the bride's father. They are not, however, part of the stipulated quantity of liquor. They are offered as a free gift in token of the delight at the settlement of the match. This offer is not made in all parts of the Sora country. Where it is made, it is done with the object of strengthening the previous agreement. There are cases where heavy compensation is claimed by the bridegroom's

father from the bride's father, if the bride is not finally given in marriage after the receipt of the liquor offered on this occasion.

Stage IV. *Pang-sāl-dinnā* (lit. carry-liquor-day)

One month or even one year after the previous offer of liquor, commences the payment of the liquor agreed upon at the time of the second visit. The number of visits during this stage depends upon the number of instalments in which the stipulated quantity of liquor is completely given. The payment of the stipulated money and the last two pots of liquor is reserved for the last instalment.

Stage V. *Takkōd-sāl-dinnā* (lit. the final-instalment-liquor-day)

This day generally falls during the mango fruit bearing season, that is, during February or March. In expectation of the final instalment liquor day, the members of the bride's house keep in readiness twenty to forty measures of rice and one measure of hill gram (red gram) and on that day, cook the required quantity of food consisting of rice and hill gram as well as brinjal and tamarind.

The bridegroom's party is a pretty large one for this visit. It consists of the bridegroom, his parents and relatives, the Gamang, the Buyya and other elders of the village. They all go in a procession with music and dance. They take with them the amount of money to be paid by the bridegroom's father to the bride's father, the balance of two pots and twenty measures of rice to be given away to the bride's family. In addition to these two pots, a third pot of liquor is also carried for the use of the members of the party on the way.

On the arrival of the party, the bride's parents invite their relatives, the Gamang, the Buyya and other people of the village. In the presence of all assembled in the house, the Gamang of the bridegroom's village counts the money brought by the bridegroom's father and pays the amount to the Gamang of the bride's village. The twenty measures of rice grains also are measured and handed over to the bride's parents in the presence of the Gamang of the bride's village. The Gamang hands over the money and the two pots of liquor to the bride's father. "*Takkōd le pā?*" says the Gamang to the bride's father, meaning "Is it all paid in full?" The bride's father admits that the amount of money and the quantity of liquor agreed upon previously have been received by him.

The Buyya of the bride's village, then spreads the leaf cups in front of the main post of the bride's house, fills them with liquor

brought by the bridegroom's party, invokes the spirits and offers the liquor to them. The liquor brought by the bridegroom's party is then distributed among all present at the function. It is the privilege of the Gamangs and the Buyyas to drink first and of the male members of both the parties to drink next. The women drink after all the men have sipped. There is, then, a grand feast for all present there. The visitors and guests then disperse. The members of the bridegroom's party go back to their village; but the bridegroom is left behind. If he is a young boy, his mother stays with him. He stays for seven days and shares the domestic work or work on the hill or in the field along with the members of the family. He moves freely with his prospective wife and though he is not privileged to sleep with her in the house, he may have sexual intercourse with her and that kind of intimacy is connived at by the parents of the bride, though it is not openly encouraged. On the eighth day, the bridegroom returns to his village and is escorted by the bride's parents and some others of the bride's village.

Stage VI. *Pussi-boi-sāl-dinnā*

A month or two after the final instalment of liquor is paid, the bridegroom's parents send three or four men to the bride's house to enquire what day the bride's parents propose to come to the bridegroom's village with the bride to have the marriage celebrated there.

In reply to this, the bride's father says somewhat as follows: "We shall go to the bridegroom's house, next month on the Full moon day which falls on a Friday."

"Well then," the men say "we shall go and won't come here again. You are sure to go there on Friday morning? Please send word on Thursday the day previous to your starting that you will be there by Friday morning. Kindly also let us know how many of you are likely to go there so that we may have an idea of the quantity of food we have to prepare for you."

"Yes" says the bride's father "we shall send a message on Thursday and mention all particulars. If no message is sent on that day you need not prepare any food for us."

The visitors have their meal in the bride's house and go back to their village.

Stage VII. *Jun-jun-boi-dinnā* (lit. Escort-bride-day)

On the appointed day, a man is sent by the bride's father with a message that the bride is coming to the bridegroom's village

accompanied by her parents and some others—(all about twenty five) on Friday by about 10 A. M. The members of the bridegroom's family prepare the food with 40 to 60 measures of rice, two measures of the hill gram (red gram) brinjals and tamarind.

Just before starting, the bride visits every important house in the village to bid farewell.

She touches the feet of the elders and says, "Well father, (or mother as the case may be) I shall go to my husband's house; don't forget me. Stay, father (or mother) stay. I go."

"Go my dear, go. Farewell! Stay in your husband's house like a good girl. Don't quarrel with any member of your husband's family. Obey your parents-in-law and have regard for them," says each of the persons whom the girl wishes good-bye. The eldest member of every house she visits, presents her with a new cloth.

When the girl proceeds to her husband's village, she is accompanied by her parents and other relations and friends, not only of her village but also of the neighbouring villages. They all go in a procession, with music and dance. The bride's father takes with him 21 measures of rice grains to be given away to the bride's family and one pot of liquor to be used by the members of the party on the way.

On entering the outskirts of the village of the bridegroom, the procession moves on slowly and increases the loudness of the musical instruments and the excitement of the dance. The bridegroom's party then comes to welcome the bride's party with music and dance. Both parties meet at the entrance to the village and continue to sing and dance for a while.

All of them enter the village and reach the bridegroom's house. The Bayya of the bridegroom's village sits at the main post of the bridegroom's house. spreads the leaf cups, fills them with liquor, invokes the spirits and offers them liquor.

The bride is, then, ushered into the bridegroom's house. Both parties sprinkle rice grains upon each other. The women of the bridegroom's house smear the forehead and the back of the women of the bride's party with turmeric. This custom seems to have been recently borrowed from the Oriyas and is not in vogue in several parts of the interior of the Agency tracts.

Then commences the marriage ceremony. The hour fixed for it is, as generally happens, late in the afternoon, the feast is arranged before the marriage ceremony. If, however, there is no time, it is done after the marriage ceremony is over.

All the members of the bride's party return to their village soon after the marriage ceremony and feast are over.

(To be continued)

THE PALLAVA CONQUEST OF THE WESTERN COAST

DR. B. A. SALETORE

The history of the eighth and ninth century A.D. is bristling with many intricate but interesting problems. Among them is that relating to the expansion of the Pallavas in the west. The Pallavas, as is well-known, came into repeated conflicts with the monarchs of Karnāṭaka. It is the object of this paper to explain one phase in the Pallava expansion which I was unable to account for while writing my *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Volume I: *History of Tuluva*¹ In this work I have delineated for the first time a complete account of the ancient Ālupas who, both because of the long duration of their rule (second century A.D.—fifteenth century A.D.), and their intimate connection with almost all the major ruling families of western and southern India, may rightly be reckoned to have been one of the most important feudatory families of India.

The Ālupas ruled over Tuluva, which comprised the whole of modern South Kanara, and a large part of North Kanara, from two capitals: first from their ancient seat Udayāvara, and, then, from Bārakūra, both of which are in South Kanara. Their chronological account is fairly continuous but for about a century, i. e., from about A.D. 800 till about A.D. 920. It is precisely this gap that forms the subject of the following remarks.

A few considerations may be noted before we proceed with our subject. The Ālupas were, on the whole, subservient to the great imperial houses of Karnāṭaka. From the middle of the sixth century A.D. till the middle of the eighth century, Karnāṭaka was under the early Western Cālukyas. These monarchs commenced their imperial career with waging wars against their inveterate enemies the Pallavas.² We have now to see how their feudatories—the Ālupas—got embroiled in the wars of their royal masters and necessitated a Pallava invasion of South and North Kanara. There is no indication in the historical records of the Ālupas having been under the earliest Western Cālukya figure king Jayasimha or of his son Raṇarāga. It is only when we come to the latter's son king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 566—597) that we find the Ālupas

1 *Ancient Karnataka*, I. (Poona, 1936)

2 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 63.

subjugated by that monarch.³ King Kīrtivarman is credited with many victories, notably over the Nālas, the Mauryas, and the Kadambas.⁴ Whether he continued the policy of his father and grandfather. *viz.*, of waging wars with the Pallavas, we do not know. But the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of his younger brother Mangalēśa informs us that he subjugated, among others, the kings of Dramiḷa, Coliya and Pāṇḍya.⁵ Now we know that the country surrounding Pallava capital of Kāñci was called Drāviḍa (Dramiḷa) or Kāñci-maṇḍala, or also Toṇḍai-(Tuṇḍira)nāḍ or *-vishaya*⁶ We have, therefore to assume that king Kīrtivarman conquered the Pallavas. Till the end of his reign, however, there is nothing to suggest that the Ālupus had brought upon themselves the wrath of the Pallavas.

On the death of king Kīrtivarman I his younger brother Mangalēśa succeeded him in A.D. 597.⁷ King Mangalēśa's warlike activities were directed more to the north in the region of the river Mahī and to the west in the direction of the island of Rēvatī than to the east,⁸ where the powerful Tamil rulers held sway. So far as the Pallava rulers are concerned, it is supposed that king Mangalēśa may have married a Pallava princess⁹ Whatever that may be, for our purpose we may note that the northern campaigns of king Mangalēśa seem to have given a pretext to the Ālupas to rebel. This explains why in the reign of his nephew Pulakēsin II, the Ālupas Kundavarmarasa were subjugated.¹⁰

The reign of king Pulakēsin II (A.D. 609—642) was doubly important: In the first place, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the great monarch of Northern India—Harṣavardhana of Kanouj—in A.D. 612.¹¹ And, secondly, he twice defeated the Pallavas. First he penetrated as far as Kāñci, and compelled its lord Mahēndra-varman I to take refuge behind its ramparts. And, then, again after defeating the kings of the Cōḷas, the Kēraḷas and the Pāṇḍyas,

3 Saletore, *A.K.*, I, pp. 200—201.

4 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 345. (2nd ed.)

5 Fleet, *Ibid.*, p. 345.

6 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 318.

7 In connection with the initial date of Mangalēśa, on which I have written a note [*Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I, p. 201, n. (1)], I must confess that I erred in making A.D. 566—7 the initial year of the monarch. This was because I relied on Fleet's first edition of his *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* where on page 21 the same error appears. Fleet rectifies himself in the second edition of his work, p. 346. B.A.S.

8 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 347 (2nd ed.)

9 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 349

10 Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

11 Rice, *op. cit.*, pp. 64—65; Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 351. For a full discussion of the date of the great victory which Pulakesin won over Harshavardhana, read Saletore *Quart. Jour. of the Mythic Society*, XXI, No. pp. 4ff. *Harshavardhana in the Karnāṭak.*

he dispersed the Pallava army.¹² But the Pallavas gallantly retrieved their lost prestige, and under the next king Narasimhavarman I put to flight King Pulakēśin II at least in three great battles—Pariyāḷa, (Budha) Maṇimangala and Suramāra. The Pallava records even relate that the word *viḷaya* (victory) was written on the back of Pulakēśin as a plate, that the Pallavas invaded the Western Cālukya dominions, and that they laid waste Bādāmi.¹³ The burning of Vātāpi (or Bādāmi) was placed by Dr. Fleet in about A.D. 642.¹⁴ Since we know from the Aihole inscription of king Pulakēśin II dated A.D. 634—635 that the Āḷupas were “always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him”,¹⁵ we have to assume that they accompanied Pulakēśin II in his many wars, and perhaps even to the Pallava capital.

That this assumption of ours is not improbable will be clear when we shall narrate the events that took place in the reigns of king Pulakēśin's successors. Nothing is known about the relations between king Pulakēśin's son and successor Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655—680) and the Āḷupas. We have only to suppose that the Āḷupas continued to be the feudatories of the Western Cālukya monarchs. So far as the wars with the Pallavas are concerned, we may note that in the reign of king Vikramāditya I there was another trial of strength between the Pallavas and the Western Cālukyas. The Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I defeated Vikramāditya I at Peruvaḷanallur so completely that the Western Cālukya king fled the field covered only by a rag. His capital Bādāmi was almost destroyed a second time. But Vikramāditya I recovered his strength, conquered Paramēśvaravarman, and captured Kañci. In this campaign Vikramāditya's son Vinayāditya greatly distinguished himself by arresting the excessively exalted power of the Pallavas and of the three kings, of the Cōḷas, the Pāṇdyas and the Kēraḷas.¹⁶

Now we know that king Vinayāditya (A.D. 680—696) was on the best of terms with the Āḷupa ruler Mahārāja Citravahana I (A.D. 675—700). This is proved by the fact that on two occasions that Western Cālukya monarch gave grants of land to deserving Brahmins on the application of the Āḷupa king—once in A.D. 692, and, then, again in A.D. 694. On the former occasion king Vinayāditya I and Citravahana I were in the victorious camp of Citrasedu in the Toramāra *viśhaya*; and on the latter occasion, both were

12 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 351; Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, pp. 31-23 (Madras 1933).

13 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 358; Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 34—39.

14 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 359.

15 Saletore, A.K., p. 202.

16 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 362; Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 40—50.

at the victorious camp of Karañjapatra in the neighbourhood of Harēṣapura (modern Harihara).¹⁷ We see, therefore, that the Ālupa king attended on his suzerain, when the latter was touring his vast Empire, in the capacity of the Western C lukya monarch's "hereditary servant".¹⁸

Our surmise is further proved by the Mallam plates in which we are informed that on the petition of Ālavarasar (*i. e.*, the same Citravāhana I), the Western C lukya monarch Vinay ditya ordered prominent leaders of the locality to give a specified gift of gold for the temple of Subrahmanya at Tiruvaṇbūr.¹⁹ We have here a further proof to maintain that the Ālupa king not only attended on his suzerain but also accompanied the latter as far as the Nellore district.

But we cannot make out whether the anti-Pallava policy was followed either by king Vinay ditya I or by his son and successor Vijayāditya (A.D. 693—733). The reason seems to be that while the former was busy subjugating the enemies in the north and south, Vijay ditya was maintaining peace and order in the main provinces.²⁰ During this period, *viz.*, from A.D. 696—733, four, Ālupa kings had successively ruled over the Ālupakhēḍa 6,000 Province, *viz.*, Citravāhana I (A.D. 675-700), Raṇas'gara (A.D. 710-720), Svātavāhana (A.D. 720-730), and Pithvīs'gara Ālupēndra (A.D. 730-750). Both because of the pre-occupations of the Western C lukya overlords and because of their own internal wars, the Ālupas did not get involved in any political trouble outside their own province.²¹

They continued, however, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western C lukyas under king Vikram ditya. For, as we shall presently see, we have evidence of the rule of king Kīrtivarman II, the son and successor of Vikramāditya II, in the Ālupakhēḍa 6,000 Province.²² The anti-Pallava policy received a further impetus in the reign of king Vikram ditya II (A.D. 733—740), when both he and his son, the future Kīrtivarman II, gloriously upheld the great name of the Western C lukya house. The Vakkalēri plates dated 757 of king Kīrtivarman II inform us the following—That his father Vikram ditya II having determined to completely uproot his "natural enemy" the Pallavas, made a sudden incursion into the Tuṇḍāka (*i. e.*, Tuṇḍiraka) country, attacked and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipotavarman, who had come out to meet him, took possession

17 Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 70—71.

19 Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 207—208.

21 Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 83—92.

• 18 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

20 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 371.

22 Saletore, *ibid.*, p. 203.

of the Pallava king's insignia, musical instruments, elephants and rubies, and entered Kañci which, however, the victorious Western Cālukya monarch did not destroy. On the other hand, Vikramāditya gave munificent gifts of gold to the Rājaparamēśvara and other temples which the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II had caused to be built.²³ Thus ended the first expedition led by Vikramāditya II himself. Dr. Fleet opined that there was a second expedition against the Pallavas led by the Yuvarāja Kīrtivarman.²⁴

Whatever that may be, the success of the first expedition led by Vikramāditya II was complete. We do not know what part the Ālupa king played in this expedition. But if Fleet's surmise about the second expedition is correct,²⁵ then, it may be suggested that the Ālupas were involved in the war conducted by Kīrtivarman. For, as related already, the presence of this monarch in the Ālupa province is proved by an undated inscription found at Aḍūru in the Kāsaragōḍu taluks of the South Kanara district.²⁶ It is possible that either while on his way to or from the Pallava capital, king Kīrtivarman camped in Tuḷuva.

This is no doubt a conjecture; but we shall presently see that even to the Pallavas, the Āluvakheḍa 6,000 Province offered a preliminary step in or a necessary corollary to the conquest of Karnāṭaka.

The Ālupas, therefore, while acknowledging the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas, had continuously sided with the latter who, as the Vakkaḷeri plates inform us, looked upon the Pallavas as their "natural enemy". Whether by this term we are, as Rice conjectured, to imagine that the Western Cālukyas, as descendants, of the Seleukian race, carried on their trans-Indian antipathy against their traditional enemies the Pallavas, whom Rice would make the descendants of the Arsacidan Parthians,²⁷ we cannot make out, nor can we agree with the Rev. Fr. H. Heras that the enmity of the Western Cālukyas and the Pallavas was but the application of the Kauṭīliyan principle of a powerful superior waging war against his inferior, simply because the former had the necessary means to do so!²⁸ So far as the Ālupas are concerned, however, it is evident

²³ Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-375; Rice, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65; Heras, *op. cit.* pp. 51-60.

²⁴ Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 375.

²⁵ The Rev. Fr. Heras makes Kīrtivarman pursue Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Heras, *ibid.*, p. 54.

²⁶ Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

²⁷ Rice, *ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁸ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 28.

that by taking the side of their suzerains, they had merely invited trouble for themselves from the Pallavas.

That the Ālupas carried on this policy of fighting for their suzerains is evident from the trend of events in the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṣas who had wrested in about A.D. 754 the hegemony of Karnāṭak from the last prominent ruler of the early Western Cēlukya house,—king Kīrtivarman II.²⁹ The Ālupas at first resisted the claims of the Rāṣṭrakūṣas, but under their ruler Citravāhana II (A.D. 800), they were compelled to submit to the Rāṣṭrakūṣa monarch Govinda III, Prabhūtavarṣa (A.D. 794—814).³⁰ This ruler in about A.D. 804 conquered and levied tribute from Danṭiga, the lord of Kañci.³¹ We can only assume that the Ālupa ruler Citravāhana II either himself accompanied his overlord Gōvinda III to Kañci, or gave the latter substantial aid in his campaign against the Pallava ruler. This perhaps explains why the next Pallava king conquered Tuḷuva.

Interesting details about the Pallava conquest of Tuḷuva are available in the Kumbhakonaṃ copper-plate grant which has been brought to light by the Madras Government Epigraphist Mr. G. Venkoba Rao. It is dated in the 61st regnal year of king Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman, and is written in the Sanskrit and Tamiḷ languages but in Grantha characters. It records the gift of sixteen *veḷi* of land in Nalgūr to a number of specified Brāhmaṇas. Among the other details given in this record are the the following:—That after many kings like Kūrca and others had gone to heaven, king Hiraṇyavaaman took the reins of government. After him came Nandivarman, whose feet were rubbed against by the crowns of various kings. In verse seven of this grant, we are informed that Ko-vijaya Nandivarman became king while yet young by conquering his enemies. In verse nine his conquests are enumerated in detail. They were over the Vallabha, Kaḷabhra, Keraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Tuḷuva, Goṅgaṇa (Konkaṇa), and other kings.³² The ruler mentioned in this record has been rightly identified by Mr. Venkoba Rao with Nandivarman III, who under the name of Nandipotavarman is mentioned in a stone inscription found in the Varāha cave temple at Mahabalipuram, Chingleput district, and discovered and commented upon also by Mr. Venkoba Rao. This Varāha cave temple inscription is dated in 65th regnal year of the monarch.³³

²⁹ Fleet, *ibid.*, 378; Rice, *ibid.*, p. 64.

³⁰ Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 219—223.

³¹ Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 331—332, 395.

³² Appendix A No. 5 of 1922-23 (Madras Epigraphical Report of the S. Circle).

³³ Appendix B 666 of 1922; *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle for 1923*, pp. 94—95.

As Mr. Venkoba Rao rightly says, the Kumbhakoṇam grant is unique: for the other copper-plate grants of this monarch discovered so far do not mention the numerous conquests given in the Kumbhakoṇam record. For our purpose, we may note that the fact that the Pallava king Nandivikramavarman, also called Nandivarman III, conquered Tuḷuva first and then Konkaṇa is highly significant. It is true that there is some divergence of opinion among scholars as regards the dates of this great Pallava monarch. Prof. Dubreuil would place him in *circa* A. D. 717—779;³⁴ while Mr. Gopalan would assign him to *circa* A. D. 827—849.³⁵ If we were to accept Prof. Dubreuil's date, we would have to assign king Nandivarman III to the reigns of the Western Cālukya king Vinayaditya (A. D. 696—733) and Vikramaditya VI (A. D. 733—746). But we have already seen that that the former did not wage any wars against the Pallavas, and that that the latter defeated Nandipotavarman, conquered Kañci, but refrained from destroying it. Since there is no evidence to suggest that Nandipotavarman, also called Nandivarman Pallavamalla II, retrieved his lost prestige and invaded the Western Cālukya dominions through Tuḷuva, we have to refer to the conquest of Tuḷuva mentioned in the Kumbhakoṇam grant to the reign of Nandivarman III, and, therefore, to the first quarter of the ninth century A. D. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the Vallabha, and not the Cālukya, king is mentioned as one of the rulers defeated by Nandivarman III.

We have now to identify the Vallabha king and the rulers of Tuḷuva and Konkaṇa conquered by that Pallava monarch. It is true that the *biruda* Vallabha, as a shortened form of the title *Śrī Prthvivallabha*, the distinctive title of the Western Cālukyas, was sometimes applied to some of the Western Cālukya monarchs.³⁶ But the name Vallabha was more appropriately given by Indians as well as foreigners to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.³⁷ We saw above that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Govinda III Prabhūtavarṣa, defeated the Pallava king Dantiga in about A. D. 804. The Pallavas had, therefore, to retaliate; and this they did in the reign of king Nandivarman III. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III died in A. D. 814.³⁸

34 Dubreuil *The Pallavas*, pp. 74—75.

35 Gopalan, *The Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 136. Dr. C. Minakshi would assign him to the years A.D. 840—65. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 300 (Madras, 1938).

36 Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 359, 379.

37 Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 347, 389; Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

38 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 401; Altekar, *The Rastrakutas and their Times*, p. 71.

We may not be wrong in assuming that the Pallava attack on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was launched in the reign of the next Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I, Nṛpatunga (A. D. 815—877), the son and successor of Govinda III.

Events in the reign of Amoghavarṣa offered a good pretext for the Pallava king Nandivarman III to attack the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. At the very beginning of his reign, there was a civil war; then came the rebellion of the Gāṅga king (Rajamalla Satyavakya I); and finally there was the insubordination of Amoghavarṣa's feudatories.³⁹ The situation in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire, therefore, seemed to be very opportune. But a specific cause had^{to} be found for the Pallava invasion of Tuluva and Konkāṇa both provinces within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire. We may note here that one of the most powerful of king Amoghavarṣa's feudatories was Bankeyarasa of the Cellaketana family. He was the viceroy placed over the Banavasi 12,000, the Belgali 300, the Kundarage 70, the Kundūru 500, and Purigere 300 Provinces.⁴⁰ In the Udayēndiram plates of king Pṛthvīpati, it is narrated that Bankeyarasa once crossed the Kāvērī and invaded the country beyond it, but that he had return hastily to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital on being summoned by his royal master.⁴¹ This campaign of Bankeyarasa may have been against the Gāṅga king Pṛthvīpati I, as surmised by Rice,⁴² or it may as well have been against one of the feudatories of the Pallava monarch in the Kāvērī region. It is not unlikely that it was the latter, and that, therefore, Bankeyarasa's expedition across the Kāvērī may have given sufficient pretext for king Nandivarman III to invade the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territories. And the safest approach to them lay through Tuluva and Konkāṇa. Whatever that may be, one fact seems to stand out prominently from these considerations—that the Vallabha monarch said to have been conquered by the Pallava king could have been no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I.

Passing over the Kalabhra, Kērala, and Paṇḍya conquests of king Nandivarman III, we come next to Tuluva and Konkāṇa. While explaining the history of the Ālupas, I maintained, on the strength of other evidence, that the period from A. D. 800 to 920 was one of confusion in Tuluva history, because of the Paṇḍyan menace from the south, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa trouble in the north, and

39 Rice *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70; Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 402; Altekar, *ibid.*, p. 73 ff.

40 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 405.

41 *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 384; Altekar, *ibid.*, p. 78.

42 Rice, *ibid.*, p. 71.

the aggressive designs of the Śāntara ruler Jinadatta Rāya.⁴³ To these causes we have now to add one more, on the basis of the Kumbhakoṇam grant, viz., the invasion of Tuḷuva by king Nandivarman III. The name of the Ālupa ruler who was a contemporary of Nandivarman III cannot be made out. For there is a complete blank in the Ālupa rulers from Citravahana II till the next figure Kavi Vimaladitya, whose date is not known.

We may now pass on to the identity of the ruler of Konkāṇa conquered by king Nandivarman III. This is found out by determining who was the ruler of Konkāṇa under king Amoghavarṣa I. The Kanheri cave inscription No. 78 dated Śaka-saṁvat 765 (A.D. 843-4) informs us that in the reign of king Amoghavarṣa, the whole of Konkāṇa was governed by the northern Śilahāra ruler, the *Mahāsāmanta* Pullaśakti, from the city of Puri, which he held through the favour of Amoghavarṣa.⁴⁴ Another Kanheri cave inscription No. 10 dated wrongly in Saka-saṁvat 775 (for 777) (A.D. 851), relates that in the reign of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, the whole of the Konkāṇa was governed by the *Mahāsāmanta* Kapardin II. the son and successor of the *Mahāsāmanta* Pullaśakti.⁴⁵

Which of these two Kokāṇa rulers—Pullaśakti or Kapardin II—was the king subjugated by Nandivarman III? If we accept the dates circa A.D. 820—849 as the limits of Nandivarman's reign,⁴⁶ then, we have to suppose that the Konkāṇa ruler who was the contemporary of Nandivarman III, and who was beaten by that Pallava monarch, was the *Mahāsāmanta* Pullaśakti. This point, however, deserves further clarification. Meanwhile, we may note that the Kumbhakoṇam plate is of special interest in as much as it gives for the first time the information that the great Pallava king Nandivarman III conquered Tuḷuva and Konkāṇ—the two westernmost provinces of Karnaṭaka bordering on the Indian Ocean, in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

43 Saletores, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

44 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 404, Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 78.

45 Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 404-405.

46 Gopalan, *op. cit.*, p. 136. Dr. Altekar would assign Pullasakti to circa A.D. 825—850. According to this scholar, the reign of Pullasakti was very uneventful. Pullasakti was unlike his son Kapardin II (assigned by Dr. Altekar to circa A.D. 850—880), whose enemies feared Kapardin even in his childhood. I do not think the Konkana king conquered by Nandivarman III could have been the Southern Konkana ruler Avasara I, whom Dr. Altekar would place between circa A.D. 845 to A.D. 870, and who is described as an expert in the *Dharma-sastra* (Read, Altekar, *The Silaharas of Western India in The Indian Culture*, II, Janur, pp. 399—404). For, further, the Kharepattan grant of Rattaraja (A.D. 1008), the last of the Silaharas of South Konkana, almost ignores the reign of Avasara; and secondly, if we are to believe the Kanheri cave inscription of the *Mahasamanta* Pullasakti referred to above, the latter was the ruler of the whole Konkana, and as such was the right person to be vanquished by an enemy.

THE NIRNAYAMṚTA OF ALLĀḌANATHĀ

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN, M. A.

(University of Madras.)

Dr. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, (three volumes), notices at least five different *smṛti* works of the same name, viz., *Nirṇayāmṛta*. One is anonymous and the others are attributed to Allāḍanatha, Gopīnārāyaṇa, Bhavadēva and Rāmacandra. Of these the *Pāścātya Nirṇayāmṛta* of Bhavadēva is quoted by Raghunandana in his *Saṁskṛatattva*. MM. Haraprasada Sastri on p. 4 of his Preface to the Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. XI, mentions a *Nirṇayāmṛta* by one Rāmacandra, found in the collection of manuscripts by the late Pandit R. maṇīrañjana Swami of Śiśava in Hatwa. No details regarding this work are known, except that the manuscripts' collection of which this *Nirṇayāmṛta* was one, passed on to the hands of one Rāghavaprasada Miśra in Hatwa. Besides these Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar, notices five copies of one *Nirṇayāmṛta* (Nos. 2636-2640) and gives the author as one Sūrya Mahendra.

As said above, details about the *Nirṇayāmṛtas* of Bhavadēva and Rāmacandra are very scanty. The anonymous *Nirṇayāmṛta* is said to be quoted by Hemadri, Raghunandana, Puruṣōttama, etc., Now remain the *Nirṇayāmṛtas* of Allāḍanatha, Gōpīnārāyaṇa, and, Sūrya Mahendra, about which I propose to deal in the following.

Aufrecht seems to think that both Allāḍanatha and Gōpīnārāyaṇa composed two independent works of the same name *Nirṇayāmṛta*. But there seems to be some difficulty in accepting this view. For, Allāḍanatha was a son of one Siddha Lakṣmaṇa, as told by himself:

श्रीसूर्यसेनवृषतेरादेशान् सिद्धलक्ष्मणतनूजः ।

अल्लाडनाथसूरिः संग्रहनिर्दिष्टकालनिर्णये कृतवान् ॥

On the authority of the information given in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Vol. II, p. 79, viz., that *Nirṇayāmṛta* is a work treating of some religious observances as Śraddha by Gōpīnārāyaṇa, son of Lakṣmaṇa, under the patronage of king Suryasiṁha, Aufrecht thinks that this Gōpīnārāyaṇa is a different author, he too being the son of Lakṣmaṇa, and composing his *Nirṇayāmṛta* under orders from Sūryasiṁha.¹

1. This Suryasiṁha is only king Suryasena.

But this supposition does not seem to be sufficiently supported by evidences. In the colophon of the manuscript of *Nirṇayāmṛta* given in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Manuscripts Catalogue Vol. II, No. 86, mention is made of Sūryasēna thus:

*Iti śrīmān Sūryasēna-mahī-mahēndra-viracite
Nirṇayāmṛte āśaucaprakaraṇam saṃpūrṇam.*

This colophon, taken for itself, would seem to indicate that Sūryasēna wrote a *smṛti* work called *Nirṇayāmṛta*. This is proved to be wrong, when in continuation of this colophon we read the following verse:

श्रीमत्पण्डित सिद्धलक्ष्मणमुतः श्रीसिद्धलक्ष्मीपद-
द्वन्द्वाराधन सुप्रसिद्धमहिमा यः सिद्धसारस्वतः ।
आदेशादकृतैष सूर्यमहसः श्रीसूर्यसेनप्रभोः
वैचे (धे) कर्मणि कालनिर्णयमसावज्ञा॥

The verse tells us that the real author was Allaḍanātha, son of Siddha Lakṣmaṇa and that the work was written under the patronage of the King Sūryasēna.

In conformity with the information in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue we have following references also to Gōpīnārāyaṇa as the author of *Nirṇayāmṛta*;

1. In Bik. Cat. p. 426 we find:

बुधानामुपकाराय व्यामूढचेतसां तथा ।
गोपीनारायणेनेदं प्रणीतं निर्णयामृतम् ॥

2. Cal. Skt. Coll. Cat. II, p. 79 towards the end:

बुधानामुपकाराय कालव्यामूढचेतसाम् ।
गोपीनारायणेनेदं निर्णीतं निर्णयामृतम् ॥

But nowhere is the name of Gōpīnārāyaṇa's father to be found. Thus the information in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue is wrong.

From the verse quoted above,³ it is evident, that the real author of the *Nirṇayāmṛta* is Allaḍanātha. Allaḍanātha happened to be the favourite scholar of the King as borne out by the verse:

2. The missing portion, अनायः सुधीः; is found in the 90. Cat. No. 1579 and R. A. S. B. Cat. No. 2152.

3. आदेशादकृतैष etc.

विद्वसु सत्त्वपि महत्सु समाश्रितेषु
 श्रीसिद्धलक्ष्मणसुतः सुतराममुष्य । .
 श्रीसूर्यसेननृपतेः निजतेजसोऽभूत्
 अल्लाडनाथमातमान् अतिमानपात्रम् ॥

There is also evidence to show that Sūryasēna wanted the work to be written in his own name. Allāḍanātha clearly speaks of this :

एनं कदापि सुमातिर्नृपतिः स्वनाम्ना
 श्रौतादिकर्मसु स कालविनिर्णयाय ।
 आदिक्षन् ऋक्षपति भाव्ययशा निशात-
 शस्त्रहताहितशनः शतमन्युरूपः ॥

The emphasis on the word *svanāmna* shows clearly the above fact. This is why in some manuscripts the work is directly attributed to Sūryasēna.⁴

We have also evidence to prove that Gōpinārāyaṇa was another name of King Sūryasēna himself. A verse found in the introductory portion of Allāḍanātha's *Nirṇayāmṛta*, viz.,

तस्यात्मजोऽभूत् चरितार्थजन्मा श्रीसूर्यसेनो जयाति क्षितीन्द्रः
 सुदर्शनेनैव वेथर्ति गोपीनारायणत्वं भुवि यः प्रसिद्धम् ॥

says that Sūryasēna was better known as Gōpinārāyaṇa. Again when Allāḍanātha speaks of the successor of Sūryasēna, Dēvasēna, the successor is mentioned as the son of Gōpinārāyaṇa and not as the son of Sūryasēna.

This also brings out that Gōpinārāyaṇa was an alias of Sūryasēna.

श्रीदेवसेन स्तनयोऽपि गोपीनारायणस्याजनि कामरूपः ।

लब्धप्रसादेन महेश्वरस्य ममारातिः तुष्टिमुपैति यत्न ॥

Thus we see that the *Nirṇayāmṛta*, supposed to be written by Allāḍanātha, Gōpinārāyaṇa and Sūryasēna are all one and the same book.

This also removes the misgiving, as supposed to be caused by the name of Gōpinārāyaṇa, as the author, found in some manuscripts.

⁴ Hiralal's reference as Suryamahendra for King Suryasēna, seems to be obviously due to an omission or oversight in reading the colophon correctly where Suryasēna's name is given as 'Suryamahī-mahendra. Compare the colophon in the Cal. Skt. Cal. Ms.

Having thus identified the author, let us see if an approximate date of composition for the *Nirṇayāmṛta* can be arrived at. Taking first the internal evidence; Allāḍanātha at the very outset says that he consulted many works on the 'subject, before writing his book:

अगाधग्रन्थपाथोधिमालोड्य च मया धिया ।

समुद्रतं नृपादेशात् तैनेदं निर्णयामृतम् ॥

Among the authorities consulted, he gives a long list. It is unnecessary to reproduce the full list here, as this has already been noted in Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1883-4. Some of the important and pertinent references will be dealt with below.

Prof. P. N. Kane, places Allāḍanātha between 1250-1500 A.D. Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar is inclined to think that Allāḍanātha and Sūryasēna flourished after 1375 and before the close of the 16th century A.D. (Report, 1883-4, p. 50). The basis for this assumption is his identifying the *Pārijāta* referred to be Allāḍanātha with the *Madanapārijāta*. *Madanapārijāta* was composed 'between 1360-1395 A. D. (See Kane: History of Dharmasāstra I, p. 189). Prof. Eggeling says: 'As the work is quoted in Acala's *Nirṇayadīpika*, it must have been composed prior to 1518 A. D.'

Allāḍanātha refers to one *Arṇava*. It is likely that this is identical with the *Mahārṇava Karmavivāka* by Māṇḍhatr, son of Madanapāla (author of *Madanapārijāta*. Allāḍanātha's reference to a work named *Devadāsiya*, is probably to be identified with the *Dēvadāsaprakāsa* by Dēvadāsa (1350-1500 A. D). This shows that the *Nirṇayāmṛta* of Allāḍanātha might have been written after 1350 A. D.

This upper limit for his date can be arrived at from still another evidence. Reference is made to one *Rūpanārāyaṇya*, a *smṛti* work. As there were more than one *Rūpanārāyaṇas* it is not certain to which particular work Allāḍanātha refers to.

Rūpanārāyaṇa, author of one *Mahādānapaddhati*, flourished between 1420—1500 A. D. (Kane, p. 734). Kane seems to identify this work as forming part of a bigger work entitled *Rūpanārāyaṇya-paddhati*, by *Rūpanārāyaṇa*, who was son of Śaktisīrṇha.

There is another *Rūpanārāyaṇa*, son of Bhavanīdāsa, son of Nāthamalla. He composed the *Vyavahāracamatkāra* in 1580 A.D,

As Udayasimha (Rūpanārāyaṇa) happens to be the earlier of the two Rūpanārāyaṇas, it is clear that Allāḍanātha cannot be placed prior to Udayasimha.

Now, this Udayasimha relies upon Lakṣmīdhara, Bhojaraḥ, Hēmadri and Caṇḍeśvara. Hence he came after Caṇḍeśvara. The literary activities of Caṇḍeśvara were during the reign of Harisimha-dēva in Tirhut and they extended over about 50 years from 1314-A. D. (See Kane HDS. p. 372). Thus Udayasimha's reference to Caṇḍeśvara clearly shows that the *Rūpanārāyaṇīyapaddhatiratna* is later than 1350 A. D.

And Allāḍanātha in order that he might refer to *Rūpanārāyaṇīya* should not have been earlier than 1350 A. D. He might be later even than 1580 A. D. as, Rūpanārāyaṇa, son of Bhavanīdāsa, flourished about 1580, and as it is not clear to which *Rūpanārāyaṇīya* Allāḍanātha refers to. Thus it is possible to arrive roughly at the upper limit to Allāḍanātha's date as 1350 A. D.

It is possible to push this limit also a little further. Prof. Kane seems to identify Udayasimha Rūpanārāyaṇa with Rūpanārāyaṇa, author of the *Mahādānapaddhati*. The date that Kane gives for this Rūpanārāyaṇa (and accordingly to Udayasimha also) is between 1420-1500 A. D. This Rūpanārāyaṇa, as has been said above, is earlier than Rūpanārāyaṇa, son of Bhavanīdāsa. And the *Rūpanārāyaṇīyapaddhati* was written between 1450—1525 A. D. (Kane, HDS. p. 615). Hence Allāḍanātha, to whichever Rūpanārāyaṇa he might refer, could not have lived prior to 1450 A. D.

With regard to the lower limit for his date, no definiteness can be arrived at. Prof. Eggeling's view that he is prior to Acala the author of the *Nirṇayadīpikā* (1518 A. D.) does not help us to fix the lower limit. For, Eggeling's basis for the above view is the mention of a *Nirṇayāmṛta* in Acala's *Nirṇayadīpikā* (India Office Cat. Vol. I, p. 495-a). As has been pointed out above, it is not certain to which of the several *Nirṇayāmṛtas* Acala makes reference and as such this piece of evidence is of very little value in arriving at the date of Allāḍanātha. At the present state of our information this point cannot be proceeded with further. All that can be safely said is that Allāḍanātha flourished only after 1450 A. D.

UJENI

DR. C. NARAYANA RAO

In the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 9—December, 1938, I identified the 'Suvaṁṇagiri' of the Aśōkan edicts with Dronnagiri near Yerragudi, seven miles from Gooty where a complete set of the Aśōkan records were found by me. I also suggested therein that what are now called the Yerragudi records should henceforth be called the Dronnagiri records so that the memory of 'Suvaṁṇagiri' may be kept linked with the place where the records are actually found.

Besides 'Suvaṁṇagiri', there is another place mentioned in the Aśōkan edicts about whose identification, I wish now to raise a discussion.

The first special edict at Dhauli contains the following:—

"*Ujenitē pi cu kumāl etāye va aṭhāye nikhāmayisa.....*" (From Ujeni, too, for this same purpose, a person will be sent.)

There has been a tendency to identify this Ujeni with the Ujjain in Malwa. But the Ujjain in Malwa was never known to be a great centre of Buddhism. It has throughout been connected with the worship of Mahākāla and the Chinese travellers allude to it as a Brahminical centre. Could Ujeni be another place?

There is an Ujeni in the Bellary District. It is a little distant from Kottūr and is, therefore, now called the Kottūr-Ujeni. This is now a centre of Viraśaivism and has one of the five principal *simhāsanas* of the Viraśaivas. There is a temple at the place which is called the *Siddhēśvar-ālaya*. The sculptured lotus in the ceiling of the temple is very beautifully done and attracts our attention. I am of opinion that this Ujeni is to be identified with that in the record at Dhauli. I give below the reasons for this identification.

(1) The name of the place is even now Ujeni and not Ujjayani, Ujjenī as in Sanskrit literature nor Ujjain as in modern times.

(2) Recent discoveries of Aśōkan records in South India are made at places not far distant from here. The so-called Mysore small edicts at Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga-Rāmēśvara lie within fifty miles of Ujeni. The Dronnagiri records also are within the same distance as the crow flies. The Maski edict in the Raichur district and the Palguṇḍa inscription also lie within this circumference.

(3) There are traces of Buddhistic influence all around Ujeni in the Bellary district.

(4) Viraśaivism grew upon the ruins of Buddhism and Jainism. Viraśaiva literature is full of gloating references to the destruction of Buddhists and Buddhistic buildings. That Ujeni has and has been a great seat of Viraśaivism lends strong colour to the identification of this place with that found in the Dhanli edict.

I leave it to scholars to follow this suggestion.

BATTLE OF TOPUR Etc.

A Reply to Criticism.

BY Rao Saheb C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

With reference to the article entitled 'The Battle of Topur : Some Inaccuracies' and the remarks contained therein (Vol. XII, Part 3, *ante* pp. 135-139, I have to make following statement:—

(1) Ranga was the legitimate or rightful heir to the Vijayanagara throne, having been nominated by Venkatapati Raya. He was regarded by Yāchama and his adherents as the legitimate heir; and his son Rama only inherited his claims. My statement that Yāchama Nayak championed the cause of the legitimate heir Ranga is right. I have not mentioned in my paper the details of the battle of Topur. Yāchama Nayak upheld the claim of Ranga in the civil war and Ranga's son, Rame came in only after some time. (2) My original was that the Nayaks of Gingee and Madura *fled from* battlefield; and *fell on* instead of *fled from* is a mistake, which I was not able to rectify because I had no opportunity to correct proofs. (3) The former or legitimate party should have been correctly mentioned as being victorious; and I acknowledge my error. All this was pointed out in the '*Bhārati*' of September 1939 by Mr. Sitaramayya and I wrote even then to the Editor of the *Bhārati*, in reply and correction of myself "that it is Ranga or Sriranga that was the legitimate nephew and heir of Venkata; and Jaggaraya's putative nephew, who had been for some time recognised by Venkata as his son "out of love which he bore to his queen" had been set aside by the latter on his death-bed, in favour of Ranga whom he nominated as his successor. I referred only to this Ranga, father of Ramadēva who was later on crowned king by the legitimist party as the legitimate heir of Ranga. It was only after himself and his family were treacherously slain that the civil war actually developed into a great conflagration. According to Barradas, Sriranga was still living in his prison while Yāchama Nayak began the struggle against Jaggarāya."

"The attempt to set aside the succession of Ranga quickly succeeded to such an extent that a great many of the feudatories of rank deserted Ranga with the exception of Velugōṭi Yāchama Nayak. The battle of Topur or Tohur, quite close to the Grand Anicut, went against the rebel allies who still clung on to Jagga's

nephew and the victors crowned Rama the surviving son of Ranga. My statement in this battle the Nayaks of Gingee and Madura fell on the field should have been the Nayaks of Gingee and Madura fled from the field. I had no opportunity of reading proofs in print and hence this mistake.

I had already in my book—*History of Madras*—published in August 1939 given an account which would show that this last slip was duly rectified. In chapter III, p. 25, of the 'above book is the following extract which was published before the criticism in the *Bhārati* appeared.

‘Madras and the Country Powers

The Grant of Sri Anga Raya— Advance of Golconda.

The disturbed condition of the Hindu power in the land (1615-30).

“The Madras coast continued to be under the effective control of the Rayas of Chandragiri only till 1645—46. Venkatapati Maharaya (1586—1614 A.D.) was the last effective ruler of the Hindu Empire. The civil war that followed his death in which Sri-ranga, his nephew who had been rightfully nominated to the succession, had to fight with a formidable combination of the rebellious feudatory rulers resulted in the imprisonment of the new Raya along with his family, and in their subsequent death. In the course of the civil war which lasted for two years, Ramadeva, a son of Sriranga, who had escaped imprisonment by the rebel chiefs, was proclaimed king by Yachama Nayak of Venkatagiri, the head of the loyalist nobles. Yachama was able, after some time, to overcome and destroy his chief rival, Jagga Raya who was the head of the disloyal chiefs, in the famous battle of Toppur, near near the grand Anicut on the Kaveri. The Nayaks of Madura and Gingee had taken the rebel side, while the ruler of Tanjore remained faithful to the rightful king. Ramadeva Raya married, subsequently, the daughter of Ethiraja, a brother of Jagga Raya the principal rebel; and he (Ethiraja) contrived to obtain great influence at the Raya’s court. Consequently there was continuous unrest among the nobles through out the regin of Ramadeva (died 1630).”

LEBŪRU GRANT OF KRISHNADEVARĀYA

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

This set and another containing an inscription of King Sadāśivarāya were sent to me by Mr. B. Gopalareddi, formerly Minister of Local Administration, Government of Madras, for decipherment and publication. I shall take another opportunity to publish the grant of Sadāśiva Mahārāya. This grant of Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya is edited by me for the first time from the original plates.

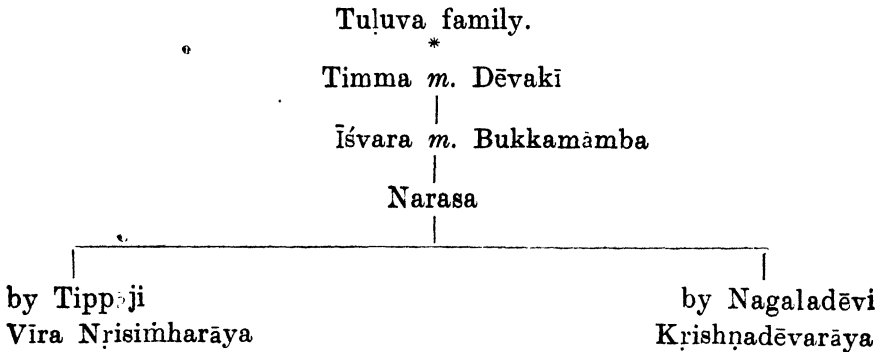
The record is engraved upon three plates, which are strung together on a ring, the ends of which are fastened under a small circular seal. The seal measures about one inch in diameter and contains the usual Vijayanagara emblems, the boar, the sun and the moon. The ring was cut by me. The first plate and the third plate contain writing only on the inner sides; and the rims of the plates are slightly raised so as to protect the writing on them. The plates have been apparently well preserved and the writing thereon consequently is not damaged.

The inscription is written in an alphabet called Nandināgri; and the language is Sanskrit. Except the first sentence *Gaṇādhipatayē namaḥ* at the beginning of the record and the boundaries in *deśa-bhāṣa*, (Telugu), (Ll. 88-92) the entire inscription is in verse. At the end of the record is the word *Śrī Virūpākṣa*, the sign manual of the Vijayanagara sovereigns, in Telugu script. The inscription employs *anusvāra* throughout in place of the proper nasals. The inscription being one of later grants of the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya contains very few verbal or scribal mistakes and the reason for this feature seems to be that the scribe acquired mastery of his art on account of his constant engraving of the charters of his king. However, it must be pointed out that in one or two places the scribe left out *visarga* and *anusvāra* by mistake. In one place (l. 52) he engraved the same word *vartya* twice and in another left out three syllables, *mahati* (l. 35).

It is not known where the plates were found, for Mr. Gopala Reddi has not informed me about the place of discovery. Lēbūru, the village granted, is, however, situated not far from Buchi-reddipalem, the native place of Mr. Gopala Reddi.

In the record the genealogy of the king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is given as follows: From Moon sprang Budha, from him Purūras,

from him Āyuh, from him Nahuṣha and from him Yayāti. His son was Turvasu. In the lineage of Turvasu sprang up the Tuluva family, the founder of which was Timma. He married Dēvaki and to them was born Īsvara. His wife was Bukkama and the offspring of their union was Narasaraḥja. This prince, it is said, built a bridge across the Kavēri, defeated the enemy, took him prisoner and captured his city Srirangapaṭṭaṇa; defeated the Chēra, Chōla and the Paṇḍya, Manabhāṣhaṇa the king of Madhura, the king of the Turushkas, and and the Gajapati and others.



The record contains two dates. The first is the date of the grant, in the 11th *tithi* in the first *paksha* of Bhādrapada in Saka 1451, which corresponds to the cyclic year Sarvadhari. The second date is that of the re-grant, the New-moon day of Kārtika, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the same year. The dates are regular. Saka Samvat 1451 has to be taken as a current year and not as expired year. It would then correspond to the cyclic year Sarvadhari, and to 1528-29 in the Christian era.

The object of the grant is the village Lēmbūru. It was granted as an *ēkabhōga* by king Kṛishṇadēva Mahārāya the Ayyapa *amātya*, son of Dēmarasa brother of Rayasam Koṇḍayamatya. The gift was made at the temple of śrī Virūpaksha on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The occasion for the charity was the 11th *tithi* (*ēkadasi*) of first fortnight of Bhādrapada. The religious importance of the *tithi* lies in the particular *ēkadasi* being *parivartana ēkadasi* or *Vishṇuparivartanapara ēkadasi*. It is not known what religious ceremonies actually attended this donation. The 11th *tithi* of the bright-fortnight of Bhādrapada in Ś. S. 1451 current would correspond to 26th August 1528. Ayyapa with the permission of his sovereign gave away the village Lēbūru as a *Sarvamānya* to the Brāhmaṇa householder Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Pērūri Padmanabha Dikshita on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Kārtika in the same

year for the merit of king Krishṇadēvarāya. There occurred an eclipse on the new moon *tithi* of Kārtika in 1528 A.D. The date would correspond to Wednesday, the 11th Nōvember 1528 A. D.

It is stated in the inscription that Lēmbūru was situated in the sub district of Nellūru in the district of Pakaṇaḍu, which formed part of the province of Udayachala. The boundaries of the village are then given as follows:— To the east of the village Pōḍūru, to the south of Pillavaram, to the west of Punnūru and the north of Indupūru, lay the village of Lēbūru. The village is called Lēbūru in Telugu and Lēmbūru in Sanskrit. The boundaries are given in greater detail in Telugu at the end. Another village Koriki is also mentioned as a boundary on the north-west.

Almost all the localities mentioned in the record may be identified to day. Udayachala or Udayagiri is the well known town with a fine hill fort of considerable historical importance, 52 miles north-west of Nellore. The hill fortress was a strong and commanding one. The entire fortified area consisted of thirteen fortresses, eight on the hill top and five below. "Inside the fort-wall are the remains of palaces, temples and tombs. Nine-tenths of the hill is inaccessible owing to vertical precipices, and the path up to the upper forts is a marvel of engineering skill."* Paka-naḍu is the ancient name of the region lying between Guṇḍlakamma on the north and Pinākini on the south. Nelluru is the modern town of Nellore, the head-quarters of the district. Lēbūru, the village granted, is a big and flourishing village and is situated about 10 miles to the east of Nellore, on the southern bank of the Pennār.

The village Pōḍūru, to the east of which Lēbūru is said to have been situated, does not exist to-day. Its site appears to have been occupied by two villages Pallipaḍu, a śrōtriem village, and Guḍipallipaḍu. To-day there is a hamlet called Kōḍūrupaḍu near Guḍupalli which may be identified as the ancient Pōḍūru, the letter *Pō* having been changed into *Kō*. Ponnur still exists and is to the east of Lēbūru. Indupuru may be identified as Indukūrpēṭa. As regards Koriki, it seems to represent the modern village Komariki. It is possible that the scribe omitted the latter *ma* after writing *ko* in name of the village and thus we have only Koriki instead of Komariki.

I am indebted to Mr. Ongolu Venkatarangayya Pantulu, who has kindly supplied me all the information regarding the above localities. Mr. Venkatarangayya Pantulu offers the following remarks on the localities in question.

* Sewell: *Topographical List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 141.

“Lē(m)būru, the earlier name for Lēbūru, seems to mean the new or younger village, for *lem* or *lēma* in Telugu means ‘tender’, as against an earlier settlement, Niṇi-musili, which is adjacent to Punnūru. The name appears to have originated as Lēma-ūru and became Lēmbūru and finally Lēbūru. Again Indukūru or Indupūru may have acquired that name on account of country date palm groves which abound there.”

TEXT.¹

Lines 1 to 63 contain identical verses (except verses 9—12) which appear in the Polipaḍu Grant (*Ante*. X, pp. 139—142) and, therefore, are omitted here. Verses 9 to 12 (lines 14 to 25) and the rest of inscription is given below.

- 14 * * * * [॥ ८*] विविधसुकृतो
 15 दामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे मुहुर्भुदितहृदय स्थाने स्थाने व्यध
 16 त्त यथाविधि । बुधपरिवृतो नाना [दा] नानि यो भुवि षोडश
 17 त्रिभुवनजनोंद्रीतं स्फूर्तिं यशः पुनरुक्तयन् । [॥ ९*] कावेरी मा
 18 शुबध्वा (दध्वा) बहुलजल रयां तां विलम्ब्यैव शत्रुं जीवमाहं गृ-
 19 ह्नीत्वा समिति भुजबला तंचराज्यं तदीयां । कृत्वा श्रीरंग
 20 पूर्वं तदपिनिजवशे पट्टणं यो बभासे कीर्तिस्थं नि-
 21 खाय त्रिभुवनभवन स्तूयमानापदानः । [॥ १०*] चेरंचोचपा
 22 ह्यं तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं मानभूषं वोर्योदमं तुरुष्कं ग
 23 जपति नृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदन्यान् । आ गंगातीरलंका
 24 प्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं नितांतं ख्यातः क्षोणीपतीनां
 25 स्रजमिव शिरसां शासनं यो व्यातानानीन् । ¹ [॥ ११*] * *
 63 * * * * [॥ २५*] शेषकृतभीतपीथिवंदहः
 64 शेषभुजः क्षातिरक्षणशौडः । भाषेगे तप्पुवरायगंडः स्तोषह
 65 दर्थिषु यो रणचंडः । [॥ २६*] राजाधिराज इत्युक्तो यो राजपरमेश्व-
 66 रः मूरारायगंडश्च पररायभयंकरः । [॥ २७*] हिंदूरायसुरत्राणो
 67 दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः । वीरप्रताप इत्यादि बिरुदैरुचितैर्युतः । [॥ २८*]
 68 आलोकयमहराय जयजीवेति वादिभिः । अंगवंगकळिगा
 69 द्यौराजभिः सेव्यते च यः । [॥ २९*] स्तुद्यौदार्यः सुधीभिस्स विजयनगरे

¹ Read व्यातानीत्.

- 70 रत्नसिंहासनस्थः क्षमापालान् । कृष्णरायक्षितिपति रधरी
 71 कृत्य नीत्यान् आपूर्वाद्रेरथास्त क्षितिधरकटकाश्च हे
 72 माचलांता रासेतोरर्थिसार्था श्रेयभिहवह्वीकृत्य कीर्त्या स
 73 भिं थे । [॥ ३०*] शालिवाहनशकाब्दे स्मिन् सहस्रेणचतुः शतेः । एकाभ्यावि
 74 कया पंचाशता च गणितेक्रमात् । वत्सरे सर्वधार्याख्ये मासि भाद्र
 75 प (पा) ह्वये पूर्वपक्षे च पुण्या^२ यानेकास्यां महा तिथौ । [॥ ३१*] तुंगभद्राप-
 76 गातीरे श्रीवरूपाक्षसंनिधौ । आश्वलायनसूत्राय भारद्वाजान्व
 77 वायिने । [॥ ३२*] रुक्मकशाखाध्यायिने वेदवेदांतागमवेदिने । बध्वाबलेन
 78 भुजयो युद्धायाता भिजाहितान् । [॥ ३३*] सहसैन्यसहामात्यैः संनिवे
 79 शयतेपुरः । विश्वाधिरुगुणाया मविश्वसाय वपुष्मते । [॥ ३४*] अरा
 80 धिप गजाधीशान् कश्यपानाजिपुतन्वते । रा य सं कौ ड या मा त्य
 81 भ्रा तु र्दे म र स प्र भो (ः*) । [॥ ३५*] तपःफलाय धन्याय धर्ममर्भेकवेदि
 82 ने । सर्वकार्यधुरीणाय सर्वशास्त्रार्थवेदिने । [॥ ३६*] श्रीमतेतिवि (श्रु*)
 83 ताय धीमते ध्य प मं त्रि णे । उदयाचलराज्यस्थं पाकनाडु
 84 विभूषणं । [॥ ३७*] नेल्लूरिसीन्मिविख्यातं पोद्दुरोः प्राग्दिशिस्थितं ।
 85 ग्रामात्पिळवराभिख्यादक्षिणां दिशमाश्रितां । [॥ ३८*] पुन्नूरुनाम
 86 का^३ ग्रामात्पिश्चमांया दिशिस्थितं । उत्तरार्नेदुपूर्वाख्या ग्रा
 87 मसीम्नो दिशंस्थितं । [॥ ३९*] कृष्णरायपुरंचेति प्रतिनाम समाश्रितं

Third plate, First side.

- 88 विख्यातिमंतं लेंबूरु नामानं ग्राममुत्तमं । [॥ ४०*] सर्वमान्यं-
 89 चतुःसीमासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्ध-
 90 साध्यजलान्वितं । [॥ ४१*] अक्षिण्यागाभि संयुक्तं^४ मेकभोग्यं सभूरुहं । वा
 91 पीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छेनापि समान्वितं । [॥ ४२*] पुत्रपौत्राभिभा(भो)ग्यं क्र
 92 मादाचन्द्रतारकं । दानस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चौचितं [॥ ४३*]
 93 परीतः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधै श्रोत-
 94 पथिकै रधिकै र्गिरि । [॥ ४४*] कृष्णदेवमहाराया माननीयो मन-
 95 खिनां सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा । [॥ ४५*] यशस्वी यजमा
 96 नो सारघ्यपा मा त्य शे ख रः । सर्वधार्याह्वये वर्षे मासि कार्तिकनामः

2. Read पुण्य

3. The plate contains the syllables as ग्रा.

4. Read संयुक्तमेक.

- 97 नि । [॥ ४६*] सूर्योपरागसमये पुण्यदर्शसमन्विते । श्रीभारद्वाजगोत्राय याजुषी
 98 य महात्मने । [॥ ४७*] पेरुरिपद्मनाभाख्य दीक्षितस्य तनूभव । अनंतगुणरा-
 99 स्यायानंतभट्टायधीमते । [॥ ४८*] कृष्णदेवमहारायभूनिपालस्य भूयसे । पु
 100 ण्याय तमिमं ग्रामं प्रादाद्राजशिखामाणेः । [॥ ४९] ग्रामस्यास्येव सीमानो दिदु
 101 प्राच्यादिषु क्रमात् । तत्तच्चिह्नैः (?) समायुक्ता लिख्यंते देशभाषया । [॥ ५०*] तूर्पु पुं
 102 नूरबोदनु चक्रचेनिमुलपु । आग्नेयानयकवानि दिन्न । दक्षिणान'
 103 गुल्छपल्लं । नैरुतिकि लग्गलमेडुगु । पडुमरदामिरेडिगुं (?) ट तोहतांगेलु
 104 वायव्यांकोरं कि समीपं चुट्टुगुंट । उ[त्त] रानमंदपुटलचेनु । ईशान्यानकु
 105 अनकट्टिकिदि कीडेदोरवु । लेंडूरुगुंडि पेन्नंदन कानु तेरुवु बेपिगुंट
 106 लु पिल्लवरंपोलमुलोनु [॥*] लेबूरिकेवारवोसि इच्चिरि । [॥*] तदिदमन्न
 107 वनीपग विनत धरायस्य कृष्णारायस्य शासन मुरुकवि वैभव नि
 108 वह निदानस्य । [॥ ५१] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासनेन सभापतिः
 109 अभाणी मृदुसंदर्थतदिदं ताम्रशासनं । [॥ ५२*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासनं
 110 मल्लणात्मजं । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरराचार्यो व्यालिखत्ताम्रशासनं । [॥ ५३*] दानपा-
 111 लनीयोर्मध्ये दानच्छ्रेयानुपालनादानात्स्वर्ग*] भवाप्नोति पालनादच्युदंपदं । [॥ ५४*]
 112 स्वदत्ताद्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेणत्वदत्तं नि
 113 ष्फलंभवेत् । [॥ ५५*] स्वदत्तंपरदत्तावायोदरेतवसुंधरा । षष्टिर्बर्षसह
 114 स्नापि विश्रयांजायतेकिनि [॥५६*] एकेवनागिनीलींके सर्वेष (षा) नेव भू
 115 जां नभोऽया नकराद्या विप्रदत्तावसुंधरा । [॥ ५७*] सामान्योयं धर्म
 116 सेतुनृपाणांकालेकालेपात्नीयोभवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्माविनः पा-
 117 वि (र्थि) वेद्रातन्भूयो भूयो याचतेरामचंद्रः । [॥ ५८*]

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः

1. The above text is from the original plates in my possession.

ABBRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Vv. 26-30). Krishṇadēva Mahārāya, Rājādhirāja, Rājapara-
 mēśvara, "the disgracer of kings who break their word", the dis-
 gracer of the Three Kings "the Sultan among the Hindu kings,"
 the cause of terror to the hostile kings, the destroyer of the
 wicked, he who bears the *biruda* Virapratāpa, being seated on the
 jewelled throne of Vijayanagara, rules the earth in as glorious a
 manner as the kings of old, like Nrga, Nala and others, granting
 large sums of money to suppliants, throughout the breadth and length

of his kingdom, from Sētu to the Mēru mountain, from the mountain of the rising sun to that of the setting sun.

(Vv. 31—38). In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty one of the Śalivahana Saka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Sarvadhārin, in the month of Bhādrapada, on the 11th (ēkādāśi) *tithi* of the first (bright) fortnight, on the auspicious occasion, the King having been surrounded by the Ministers and the Army, on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, granted in the presence of the god Virūpaksha the village of Lēmburu, situated in the sub district of Nelluru which was the jewel of the district of Pakanadu in the province of Udayachala or Udayagiri, under the new name Kīshṇarāyapuram to the glorious minister Ayyapa-mantrin, who had destroyed the enemies, who was devoted and loyal, the son of Dēmarasa, who as a brother of the illustrious Rāyasam Koṇḍayamatya, who belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and Aśvalayana *sutra* and was a student of the Ṛg-veda, who knew the *vēdās* and *vēdānta* and *āgama* and who was master of all *sāstras*.

(Vv. 39—45). The village lay to the east of Pōḍūru, to the south of Pillavaram, to the west of the village Punnūru, and to the north of Indupūru. It was granted with the enjoyment of the eight conditions of proprietorship, such as *nidhi nikṣhēpa*, *pāshāna*, *siddha*, *sādhya*, and *jala*, *akṣhiṇa āgami*, as an *Ekabhōga*, also with *vapi kūpa*, *taṭāka* and *kaccha*, to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants as long as the sun, moon and stars endure, with the rights of gift, mortgage and sale by the glorious King Krishṇadēva Mahārāya, who was surrounded at the time of the gift by his *Parōhita* and a number of Brahmanas, who were wise, well versed in the Śrauta learning, with the pouring of water together with gold.

The famous Ayyapamatya, in the same year Sarvadhārin, in the month of Kārtika, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, combined with the occasion of the performance of the sacrificial rite connected with the New Moon *tithi*, gave away the village of Lēmburu to Ananta Bhaṭṭa, son of Pēruru Padmanābha Dikshita, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and a student of Yajur-veda, for the merit of the King Kīshṇadēva Mahārāya, as a *sarva-mānya* tenure.

(LI 100-106) The boundaries of the village are again stated in Telugu (*Dēsabhāshā*).

(Here the dialect is so archaic that some of the words are not understood. Hence a rough and imperfect translation is given.) On the East the bend of Chakra-*chēnu*—a field on the side of Punnūru; on the southeast—a mound called Yakavanna-Dinna;

on the south Guḍlapalli; on the south-west Laggala-*Maḍugu*-a tank; on the west Damireḍḍi *gunṭa* and a low marsh adjoining it; on the north-west Chuṭṭu-*gunṭa*, a tank, near Ko(ma)riki; on the north Manda-puḷa-*chēnu*, a field; on the north east Kide-doruvu, a pond, beneath the ancient anicut and the road which runs along the bank of the Penna and a pond called Vepi(a)gunṭalu, in the fields of Pillavaram.

This is the edict of King Kṛishṇadēva Mahārāya.

This copper-plate document was composed by *Sabhāpati* at the command of King Kṛishṇadēva Mahārāya.

The edict was engraved by Mallaṇāchārya son of Vīraṇāchārya the artificer, of Kṛishṇadēva Mahārāya.

The usual imprecatory verses.

1. THE SWORD INSCRIPTION OF GAJAPATI NARAYANA DEB

Sri Sri Sri LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB Rajah Bahadur,
Puratatvavisarad, Vidyavachaspati, Vimarsavinod, Rajah of Tekkali.

Some of the weapons we have in our armoury have been kept in a separate box. The box is called "conquered weapons box" Among the weapons is a sword bearing an inscription in Urdu letters. Its blade is 6 feet 8 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The sword is made of well tempered steel. The hilt of the sword and its surroundings are embellished with gold and silver plating which is now fading out but can be seen here and there. The hilt is provided with a finger protection. The sword was made in the year 1799 A.D. On the blade in the middle there is an inscription in three lines in Urdu. It runs as follows:—

1, *Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Dēb*

2. *120*

3, *Bahadur*

It means "The sword belongs to 120 Gajapati era (1799 A.D.) during the rule of Sri Gajapati Nārāyan Deb Bahadur".

Sri Narahari Nārāyan Deb, Raja of Parlakimedi once defeated Muliki Khan of Chicacole. In memory of that victory a Gajapati era was observed in Parlakimedi Raj family. The Gajapati era 120 in the time of Narayan Deb is equivalent to S. S. 1721 or 1799 A.D.

From 1748 to 1761 A. D. Sri Madhusūdan Harichandan Jagadeb was ruling at Athagaḍa. During his rule, with the intention of conquering his country, the Moghul Nawab, Bairam Beg Bahadur Khan Saheb influenced Sri Chandan Patnaik and Dyana Patnaik and got imprisoned Madhusūdan Harichandan Jagadeb. Along with him he also imprisoned Narēndra Deb of Mahuri, Rajendra Deb of Chikati and Medhab Sing of Bodagada and took them to Kasimkota. Sri Gajapati Jaganath Narayan Deb, ruler of Parlakimedi, fought with the Nawab Bairambeg Bahadur and set those four princes free. Jaganath Narayan Deb was succeeded by his son Gajapati Narayan Deb. He ruled from 1722 to 1802.

"My father had released you from prison. So you must be my vassals" said he to the princes aforementioned. But Sri Govind Chandra Harichandan Jaga Deb, the brother of Madhusudan Harichandan Jaga Deb, the then Raja of Attagada, refused to be so. He ruled from 1761 to 1788 A. D. During the rule of Madhusudan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja Sri Krishna Bhanj of Gunsur conquered

Hatiota Mutta. After his accession Govindchandra Harichandan Jagadeb made Srikananam Patnaik the commander of his army and started on an expedition to Kakarsila fort, in Ghumsur. Hearing that the Rajah of Attagada was engaged in warfare, and out of spite for Govindchandra Harichandan Jagadeb, Gajapati Narayandeb of Parlakimedi, captured some villages of Attagada, with the help of Dasanna Nawab. While Govindchandra Harichandan Jagadeb was returning after defeating Krishna Bhanj, Rajah of Ghumsur he got news that the Rajah of Parlakimedi had invaded his country. So he immediately led his army against Gajapati Narayandeb of Parlakimedi and defeated him. He took back the captured villages from Parlakimedi and sent Narayan Deb disarmed, taking the sword from his hands. It is that very sword about which we write here.

2. COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF MADHUSUDAN CHOTTRA

The Oriya copper-plate written on one side was received by me from a Samantō, an inhabitant of Jalandra and owner of the said plate. The length of the plate is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the breadth is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the thickness is $1/11$ of an inch. It contains seventeen lines. In some places the letters are illegible.

The inscription purports to be a deed of exchange of a village. It was executed by Madhusudan Chottra, the Raja of Jalandra and his uncle's brother-in-law, Bodojenna Samonto. Raja Madhusudan Chottra got the forest in the village Arakhpada in exchange for the village Chhiland from his uncle's brother-in-law. At that time Sri Birkishore Deb ruled at Puri, the capital of Utkal (S. S. 1659—1702, i. e., 1737—1780 A. D.) The exchange was made on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of M̐gha in the year Āngirasa corresponding to 1753 A.D. and in the thirteenth year of the reign of Śrī Berakisore Dēb. The day is called "*Tilasaptami*", (an auspicious day).

The Rajas of Jalandra obtained the title of "*Chottra*" from the king of Orissa long ago and it is their ancestral title.

The following is the list of the Rajas of Jalandra.

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Danardan Chhotra | |
| 2. Bhagavan | |
| 3. Ramachandra | |
| 4. Madhusūdan | (Executor of the copper-plate) |
| 5. Kishore Chandra | 6. Purushōttam |
| 7. Narayan | 8. Ramakrishna |

In the time of Ramakrishna Chhotra the "Estate" was sold to the Raja of Vizianagaram by the British Government for arrears of Peishcush.

TEXT

१. वीर श्री वीर केशर देव म
२. हाराजाङ्कर समस्तसुभ राज्ये
३. २३ अङ्के
४. अङ्गिरसनामसन्वत्सर मकर १२ दिने माघ
५. मुक्तु सप्ति सोम वार श्री श्री मधुसोद
६. नञ्जेट राइ देउ ददा जामाई वड़जेनासा
७. न्तङ्कुदेवार (*) पटा पटा निर्नय किवांल
८. न्ते तल दिनरे अरख पदा ग्राम [,] वण निमिये
९. धिलण्ड ग्रामकु प्रति वध वडईस १० वाडस ४
१०. सनउ मिस १२ मुनेरूपईस १० वासे १ काटु (*)
११. उविनाटकरि येरूपे देई आत्मा अवधान कालु
१२. जे आज दिवाय्यरु ए ग्रामसन्दि सिमान्त पदर फल, रू,
१३. लगछ माछसमेतरे सुखे तुम्भे तुम्भपुवपौउ
१४. त्वादि परिजन्ते जवन्त चन्द्रा के सुख अनभोग
१५. करि थिव, ये यिधिरेजे अ नकारईवा याग
१६. रे गोहत्या, ब्रह्म हत्या मातृ हत्या कला दोष पाई
१७. व. येथिरे आन अवश नाही ३ एमरप्रमाण॥

BRIEF TRANSLATION

In Monday the 25th day in the solar month of Makara corresponning to the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of M̐gha in "Āṅgīrasa" year which is the 13th year of the reign of Srī Birkisore Dēb, king of Orissa, Madhusūdan Chotroy (Raja of Jalandra) gave his uncle's brother-in-law Bodojenna Samanto the village of Chillunda in exchange for the forest in the village of Grokhopōḍa with all the rights pertaining thereto, to be enjoyed by his sons and grandsons as long as the sun and moon endure. Whoever obstructs the enjoyments of this grant shall suffer the sin committed by killing a cow, Brāhman or mother.

Successors of the Satavahanas

By Dr. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.,

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

Dr. B. A. Saletore has reviewed my *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, Calcutta University, 1939, in this Journal Vol. XII, pt. iii, January, 1939, pp. 185-88. The only point criticised in his review has been expressed in the following words: "And Dr. Sircar then would place Kākustha in the middle of the fifth century A. D. *ibid*, p. 233). If we accept this age given to Kākustha we cannot understand how it can be made to square with the date, between 415-503 A. D., which the same scholar gives to the reign of Kākustha's grandson Mrgēśavarman (pp. 234-5)! Certainly it cannot be that the reign of Kākusthavarman and that of his grandson coincided with each other!" (*loc. cit.*, p. 187). Thus the learned reviewer represents me as suggesting the absurd reign-period of eighty-eight years for the Kadamba king Mrgēśavarman and as placing that king and his grandfather Kākusthavarman at the same date.

Dr. Saletore however does not appear to have carefully gone through my book before preparing the review. All careful readers of my work would see that I have used the expression "about the middle of the fifth century" in course of a discussion on the possible period of Kākustha (p. 233), have placed Kākustha's Halsi grant roughly between "circa 400 and 430 A. D. (p. 234), and have assigned Kākustha's reign to c. 405—35 A.D." (p. 392). It will be seen that I have placed Mrgēśavarman's reign in "c. 470-90 A.D." (p. 392). That I place the beginning of the reign of Kākustha's grandson in 469—70 A.D. is also known to the readers of my paper on Kadamba chronology in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XIV, pt. iii, December, 1935, p. 344-46. I request scholars to read my book carefully and see if Dr. Saletore's charges against me have any foundation at all.

In this connection I may also refer to the learned Doctor's review of my *Early Pallavas*, Lahore, 1935, which appeared in the *Oriental Literary Digest* (Poona), Vol. II, pt. i, July, 1938, p. 1. In that review the only point criticised was expressed in the following words: "It may be doubted whether the author has done well to ignore some previous writers on the subject. For he would

not then have accepted the Parthian origin of the Pallavas (pp. 10—11)". All readers of that book (p. 11) and my paper in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, August, 1935 (p. 160), however, know that I have criticised the theory of foreign origin of the Pallavas and have suggested that "they were originally Brahmanical Hindus of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and therefore belonged to Northern India." I was afraid therefore that the learned Doctor did not carefully read pp. 10—11 of my *Early Pallavas* before preparing that review. When, however, I wrote him a letter pointing out the misrepresentation of my view, he kindly informed me that no reader of my monograph could form any opinion other than the one he had for me!!!

I, therefore, request scholars to be so good as to form their own opinion after carefully going through my works and not to be guided by Dr. Saletore's reviews.

सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतपरद्भजेन्त मूढः परप्रत्ययेयशुद्धिः ।

HISTORY OF NALLAPARAJAS

SRI RAJA NALLAPARAZU MIRZA ACHYUTA RAMA RAZU BAHADUR

Of the several Kshatriya families that migrated to the South during the troublous times that had beset India after the advent of the Moslems in 11th and 12th centuries, some of the foremost were Kalidindis, Pūsapātis, Vatchavāyis and Nallaparāzus. The last-mentioned were so called because their ancestors were devotees of the Goddess Nallamma near Dharanikōṭa. One of the ancestors of the Nallaparāzus was Rangarazu. He had three sons by name, Errazu, Borraju and Kōnēirazu. The eldest Errazu had a son, Ramabhadrarazu. This chief once rescued a treasure chest from a gang of dacoits who numbered nearly 400 and who put to rout, a small company of troops who escorted it from Chicacole to Hyderabad. This meritorious act of the Kshatriya chieftain was recognised by the then Nizam of Hyderabad and Ramabhadrarazu having died in the meantime, his son Venkatapati Razu was invited to the court of Nizam and there invested with the rank and dignity of a *Mansabdar*. The Nizam further granted him the titles of *Rāja*, *Mirza*, *Bahadur*, *Sirbund*, *Jhalalār*, *Darpslok* and *Kshatriar*. He was made *Sirfascar* on his return to Ellore. He was well versed in Parsi and other languages and was the author of a treatise on "Horsemanship"

The following is the English translation of the *farmān* granted to Venkatapati Razu.

"His Highness Nizamulmulk Assaf Bahadur Fathuzung Sipha Salar, hereby announces to Dēsamukhis, Dēspāndyas, Zamindars and Harundars of Ellore Sircar that His Highness the Nizam doth hereby confer upon Mirja Raja Nallaparazu Venkatapatirazu Bahadur the title of Mirja, Raja Bahadur and grant him *Naubath*, *Jhaladarapalki*, *Mashale*, and *Nakib Chaddars*, and further considering his past meritorious services rendered unto the state, doth regard him as his cousin and grant him three robes of honour, *Nimasthini* and *Sarband* inlaid with gems befitting his rank and honour.

We do hope that he shall prove himself worthy of our confidence and of the marks of honour conferred upon him and discharge his duties to our entire satisfaction.

All shall honour him as our *Sirlashkar*, obey his commands and carry out his orders to the very letter. He shall enjoy and his line shall hold in perpetuity the several marks of honour hereby conferred upon him. This, after being perused by one and all, shall be given to him, and a copy of the same shall be maintained. This need not be renewed year by year and shall be enforced at once."

Chand 10 Shaban 1158 Hiziri.

(Sd.) Purchand Asaf Jah,
Dewan.

Nadansing Asafjah,
Nustavati

Venkatapatiraju's grandson, Venkatapathirazu, II distinguished himself as worthy of his grandfather's name and fame and held the fief of Dandangi. He was a Scholar in Parsi and could compose *Bajanama*. He was also well-versed in Sanskrit and Telugu. Mikkini Mallaya dedicated to him his poem "*Paṇḍitarāyasatakam*." Sri Narayana Gajapati Maharaj of Vizianagar, granted to him the fief of Moyida Viziamapuram. He had two sons by name Venkatakrishnanrazu and Venkata Niladrirazu. Of these two, the latter was more famous than the former and was much praised by the then Maharaja Sri Vijayarama Gazapati of Vizianagar and Sri Rao Gangadhara Ramarao Bahadur of Pithapuram. He was the author of *Daryaye Masadar* in Parsi.

REVIEWS

Sabdamanidarpana

[By KESIRAJA with the commentary of Lingānārādhya,
Edited by Mr. A. VENKATA RAO & Pandit H. SESA
AYYANGAR, Madras University. Price Rs. 2—8—0]

This volume is a treatise on old Kannada grammar and it may be called an improved version of the original gloss by Kesiraja. Lingānārādhya the, well known Virasaiva scholar of the 16th century, has made the original matter easier, simpler and more intelligible by adding his own commentary and giving improved versions with copious examples.

Authors such as Nāgavarma of the 17th century and Kesiraja were the exponents of the Paninian and Aindra School of thought in the field of grammar. Although our author could not but be influenced by this school of thought, yet we find in him originality and independence of thought. The influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit can be seen throughout the work. But it is to be remembered that the author has tried his utmost to give due importance to Kannada thereby giving the special characteristics of Kannada Language and at the same time has laid down a number of special rules to explain and elucidate such characteristics.

In his lengthy introduction, Mr. Chenna Kesava Ayyangar, traces the history and growth of Kannada Language in its important phases and this, no doubt, is of great importance to the student of Kannada Literature. The book really helps one to study and understand the old Kannada grammar and thereby to understand the valuable old Kannada Language also.

But it is a matter for regret that manuscripts in good condition, treating subjects like these are still not available. But it is hoped that complete manuscripts which would be of immense help to works of such type will come to light in course of time if proper research is made by the lovers of Kannada.

J. V. BHATT

Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East

[Vol. II, SUVARNADVIPA, Part II, Cultural History, by
R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., Vice-Chancellor, Decca University.
Calcutta 1939. Pp. 354 with 75 Plates printed on Art Paper.]

Dr. Majumdar is a well-known student of Ancient Indian Civilisation and Culture and has already written several volumes

about its greatness and the manner in which it spread in the Far East. By the term *Suvarṇadvīpa*, the author signifies Malayasia comprising the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. In Part I published in 1937 the author described the beginnings of Hindu Colonisation in the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Bali etc. and traced their history up to the end of the tenth century. In the present Part which is entitled, *Culture and Civilisation in Suvarṇadvīpa*, he gives us a picture of the Social and Economic condition of the colonies. The legal system prevalent there is directly or indirectly derived from the *Smritis* of Manu, Yājñvalkyā and Bhṛigu. This is specially clear from the use of the caste system (*catur varṇa*) and the laws relating to marriage and slavery. Poetry, drama, music and dance formed the highest classes of amusement, and "the spirit of these was undoubtedly derived from India". But it is not an easy task to civilise a ferocious people; and we can have some idea of their ferocity from the following quotation:—"The temper (of the people of Java) is cruel and hasty; young and old, high and low, all carry a sword at their side and on the slightest provocation they injure each other."

Not only do we get a vivid account of the life of the people and the structure of their society but of their literature, largely inspired by the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, Religion and Art. In fact we may say that the chapters dealing with these topics form the best part of the book. The Sculpture and Architecture of the islands are dealt with in great detail, period by period, and the conclusion is drawn that as in India, Art was the handmaid of Religion. The influence of Buddhism in this respect is not merely described but graphically brought before our eye by means of the many art plates reproduced at the end of the book. The temple at Barabudur naturally claims and is given great attention on account of its remarkable value; for it is "the realisation in space of a maṇḍala of stone, a sculptured maṇḍala to which the descriptions supplied by the 'Lotus of good Law' apply very exactly."

In his Preface the author promises another volume dealing with *Kambhōja*². (Cambodia and Siam), though he is not sure when exactly it will see the light of day.

There is absolutely no doubt that Dr. Majumdar is giving in these volumes a thrilling account of a great theme—the spread of

1. This chapter was originally contributed as a Paper to the Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar commemoration volume published in 1936.

2. Vol. I of this series dealt with *Champa*—in about 500 pages.

Indian Culture in South East Asia— and is, therefore, entitled to the gratitude of all Oriental Scholars.

We only hope that his success will attract some of the research scholars in this part of our country to this fascinating subject, the story of 'Greater India'.

N. R. K.

South Indian Maharastrians

(Cultural and Economic Studies)

[Issued by the Maharatta Education Fund, Madras, as SILVER JUBILEE SOUVENIR, Madras. December 1937, pp. 167 Price Rs. 2/- Published by the MAHARATTA EDUCATION FUND, Madras.]

The publication of the Souvenir marks the happy occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Maharatta Education Fund, Madras, which was started on 15th September, 1912. In this volume is recorded the history of the numerous efforts of the South Indian Maharastrians to ameliorate the condition of the members of their community who are scattered all over the country. It consists of three important parts; and the most interesting from the point of view of the historian is the third, which is devoted to historical and cultural studies relating to the Maharastrians of the South. The second part is devoted to brief biographies of eminent members of the Maharashtra community who played a glorious role in the history of the last century. The lives and achievements of those great men like Raja Sir T. Madhavarao, Diwan Bahadur K. Raghunadharao and others had indeed inspired the Maharashtra community during the last four decades of this province to emulate their example in every way. Flung far away from their home in Maharashtra, the South Indian Maharashtrians had fallen on bad times owing to the annexation of the Maharatta kingdom of Tanjore. And it became necessary in the dawn of the twentieth century to rouse their patriotic sentiment once more, and the result was a series of efforts to bring together the Maharashtrians of South India as an organised community for the improvement of their lot which had changed with the times. Some of the articles on cultural and historical topics in the third part are very interesting from the historians' point of view, and though erring sometimes on exaggeration are indeed inspiring to Maharatta sentiment and patriotism. At the same time, it must be obvious to every student of History that the Maharashtrian contribution to the glory of South India was no mean one during the last two and half centuries. The self consciousness of the South Indian Maharastrians is praiseworthy and the M. E. F. is a glowing tribute to their great talent for organisation and promotion of communal welfare and prosperity. The Silver Jubilee Volume is well got up and the credit of the work goes to the talented editor Prof. N. R. Kedar Rao,

Velugotivarivamsavali

[Edited with Introduction by DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M. A., PH. D., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published as Bulletin of the Dept. of Indian History and Archaeology, No. 6, Madras 1930.]

The publication of a critical edition of the *Velugōtivarivamsāvali*, a chronicle of great historical importance, is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of history of South India. It is a chronicle of the royal house of Venkatagiri; it is a collection of verses and prose passages that were composed by court bards from time to time to commemorate the deeds of great ancestors of the Velugōti family, from the days of Rācelra Chevvireḍḍi, who flourished in the latter part of the 12th century, down to Kumāra Yācama nāyaka in the and Singama nāyaka, in the middle of the 17th century. The *Vamsāvali* as a source of history supplies facts which serve to fill the gaps in the history of the Mediaeval Period, touching the rise and fall of Kakatiya Empire, the Reḍḍi kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu Rājamahēndravaramu, the Bahmani kingdom of Gulburga, and the Velama principality of Rāchakonda and lastly the Vijayanagara Empire. The *Vamsāvali* furnishes facts which are not available either from the inscriptions of the land or the works of Muhammadan historians.

The publication under review is a careful and critical edition prepared by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. It is based upon two Mackenzie Manuscripts preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library. One is a copy of the other, and even the printed version which the Doctor consulted is but another copy containing innumerable textual corruptions and scribal mistakes. The task of collating the probable and proper readings and correcting the mistakes in bringing out this edition is by no means an easy one. One should be a master of numerous local dialects in the Telugu language before he can attempt to prepare a critical edition of a work of so great a historical value as the *Velugōtivarivamsāvali*. Dr. Venkataramanayya is a scholar in Telugu besides being a historian, and therefore he has been able to do this work admirably well. His Introduction contains a summary of the *Vamsāvali* and a discussion of the historical material which the chronicle supplies, with the help of the writings of the Mohammadan historians, inscriptions of the land and literary sources.

There are many more chronicles of the type of the *Velugōtivarivamsāvali*, in the Telugu language not to mention the innumerable *Kaifiyats*, which are preserved in the Mackenzie Collections. It will be a great service to the study of history of Southern India if these original chronicles are published as critically and carefully edited as the *Velugōtivarivamsāvali* is done.

has also presented a few coins of the Andhra kings. The average number of visitors per day to the Reading Room is over ten. About 28½ books have been consulted from 20—12—38 to this day. The figures for the previous period are not available, as a consultation Register was opened for the first time from 20—12—38. Of the 284 books consulted, about 80% are purely Research Periodicals which show the keen interest taken in research by the members of the reading public. Before the Library was transferred into its new premises I checked the books and placed them in order with the kind help of the previous Librarian Sri Ramachandramoorthy and I take this opportunity of acknowledging his help. Unfortunately during the process of transportation of bookshelves in a hurry the books got mixed up in spite of our best efforts and the whole thing had to be done over again. The Library has also grown very much and so the Managing Council was pleased to engage a clerk for one month on Rs. 15/- to put the whole Library in order, to take an inventory of the stock in Sri Nyapati Subbarao Pantulu Garu's house and prepare a catalogue, and, I sincerely thank the Managing Council for the same. The catalogue has now been prepared, and remains to be printed. I suggest that the latest books and periodicals received may, from time to time, be made known to the reading public by means of charts showing them being hung in the Library, and I am sure this suggestion will receive adequate consideration at the hands of my successor.

My thanks are also due to Messrs R. Subbarao, M. Sambasivarao and B. V. Krishnarao who helped me whenever required.

Number of visitors to the Library and Reading Room during 1938—39 is 1,270 which shows an increment of about 400 over last year's figures.

B. VISWANATHA SASTRY

Hon. Librarian,

1—4—39.

ERRATUM ET CORRIGENDUM

By oversight during proof reading the following sentence has been omitted in the XVII Annual Report on the working of the Society that appears on p. vii above. The following sentence is the continuation of the first paragraph.

In this connection the Society's thanks are also due to Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Mylapore, Madras for kindly lending the estampages of all the copper-plate grants of the Reddi Dynasty available in his office for Exhibition during the Reddi Empire Day Celebrations. The estampages are about 15 in number and all of them are unpublished inscriptions.

1938—39

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Minutes of the General Body Meeting held on 3-4-1938 at 8 a.m.

Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, B.A., B.L., President in the chair.

Seventeen Members were present.

Resolved that the Secretary Report and another items on the agenda be postponed till the report of the Auditor, and the Accounts (Receipts and expenditure Statement of) are ready. The Meeting is adjourned to 24-4-1938 for the said purpose.

Minutes of the General Body Meeting held on 1-5-39 at 7 45 a.m.

Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, President in the chair.

Twenty two Members were present.

Resolved that the statement of Receipts and Expenditure be passed. This meeting requests the Managing Council to carry out the suggestions and follow the instructions given by the Auditor.

Resolved that an honorarium of Rs. 10/- be given the Auditor for the work done by him.

The Secretary presented his Annual Report of the working of the Society. Resolved to adopt the Report.

The following Office Bearers were elected for the year 1939—40.

President:

K. N. ANANTARAMAN ESQ., M.A., I.C.S.

(The retiring President, Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao got 9 and Mr. K. N. Anantaraman obtained 12 votes.)

Vice-President:

Mr. N. KAMESWARA RAO PANTULU, B.A., B.L.,

(Elected Unanimously)

Secretary:

Mr. B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

(Elected Unanimously)

Treasurer:

Mr. K. J. GOPALA RAO, B.A., B.L.

(Elected Unanimously)

Librarian & Curator:

Mr. V. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTI, M.A., B.Ed.

(Elected Unanimously)

The following gentlemen were elected to the Council unanimously:

1. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
2. Mr. M. Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.
3. Mr. M. Sambasiva Rao,
4. Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Pantulu Bahadur.

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MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 8-5-1938.

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as Ordinary Members of the Society.

(1) D. Sandilya Esq., M.A., (Oxon).

(2) A. D. Pusalker, M.A., LL.B., 324, Vithalbhai Road, Bombay, 4.

2. Resolved that in view of the present financial difficulties in which the Society is placed the local members be requested to be generous and pay the subscription for the year 1935—36 also. The Secretary is requested to circulate this resolution.

3. Resolved that in view of the increased cost of printing paper etc., the subscription of the *Journal* for the institutions be raised from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 postage excluded. Resolved further that the Secretary's action in having charged the enhanced rate from the institutions from Vol. X onwards is approved. Resolved further to ratify the action of the Secretary in charging mofussil members also subscription at Rs. 4/- per annum be approved.

3. Accounts checked and passed up to date.

4. Resolved to issue the *Journal*, Parts 3 and 4 of the Vol. XI as one consolidated part.

5. Resolved to appoint a committee consisting of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Messrs. Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur and V. S. Ramachandramurthi, for making necessary by-laws for the guidance of the Treasurer in view of the Auditor's Report.

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RESOLUTION adopted by circulation of the agenda on 8-5-38.

Resolved to appoint Messrs. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., and N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu to take a stock of account of the Society's Publications (Telugu and English) up to date.

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MINUTES of the Managing Council meeting held on 12-6-38.

2. Resolved to supply a copy each of the Telugu Publications of the Society, viz., *Kalingadēsa-charitra* and *Paṇḍabhishēka-sanchika* to the Curator, Record Office, Egmore, Madras to cover the value of Rs. 13 which was by mistake paid towards subscription, for the

J.A.H.R.S., while the latter is on the exchange list of the Publications of the Madras Record Office.

3. Resolved to celebrate the *-Reddi Empire Day* in September 1938 and that paper (30 reams, D. C.) be ordered for printing the *Reddi Sanchika* and that the printing commenced forthwith.

The following gentleman are elected to the Editorial Committee of the *Reddi Sanchika* Publication. Mr. M. Anna Reddi, Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurthi and Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. Mr. G. Janakirama Choudari's name is deleted from the Editorial Board as he is unable to give any part of his time for the work.

5. Resolved to pay a sum of Rs. 50 as advance to the Printer as advance for the printing of the *Journal*, Vol. XI, Parts 3 and 4.

7. Resolved that the Secretary be requested to remove the Library and Museum from the Theosophical Society Hall to a suitable new premises at an early date.

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MINUTES OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 17—7—1938

Read letter of resignation of Sri V. S. Ramachandramurti, who is employed as a teacher in P.R. College High School, Cocanada.

1. Resolved to accept the resignation of Sri V. S. Ramachandra Murthi, M.A., B.Ed., of the office of the Librarian and Curator of the Society.

Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful appreciation of the services rendered by him as Librarian & Curator.

2. Resolved to elect Mr. B. Viswanatha Sastri, M.A., B.Ed., as Librarian and Curator of the Society in the vacancy now created.

4. Resolved to send out an appeal to the Public to support of the Society. The Appeal may be signed by the members of the Public as well. Messrs. R. Subbarao and B. V. Krishnarao be requested to draft the appeal.

Resolved that Messrs. B. V. Krishna Rao and V. Appa Rao be requested to prepare a Programme for the *Reddi Empire Day* Celebrations.

The celebration may be held on two consecutive days, on the 15th and 16th October 1938.

Resolved to enrol the Reverend Mr. W. T. BENZE, B. A., Peddapuram as an ordinary member of the Society.

MINUTES OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 4—9—38.

2. Resolved to appoint the following gentlemen as Committee to prepare a list of Exchanges of the Journal for which there is no use or place in the Society's Rooms and Library and also prepare a list of the periodicals which may be acquired for Exchange and place the matter before the Council for consideration at the next meeting.

Prof. R. Subba Rao,
Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, and
Mr. B. Visvanatha Sastri.

3. Resolved to elect Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao as *Editor* and Messrs. N. Kameswara Rao and M. Anna Reddi, as members of the Editorial Committee for Vol. XII and authorise the Editor and Secretary to commence the printing of the Vol. XII, Part 1 immediately.

5. Resolved to elect Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., PH.D., and Mr. S. Pratapa Reddi, B.A., B.L., to the Editorial Board of the *Reddi Sanchika*.

8. Resolved to elect Messrs. M. A. Reddi and R. Subba Rao to the Library Committee with Librarian as Convener to revise and prepare a Catalogue for the Society's Library.

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MINUTES OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 1—10—38
, ON REQUISITION FROM THE PRESIDENT.

1. Resolved that the Coin Chest of the Society be opened and an inventory be made of the coins in it.

2. The Library and the Museum should be removed to Innespet into the First floor of the Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd., Buildings on or before the 4th inst.

4. Resolved to entrust the articles of the Society's Museum for exhibition at the Second Session of the Indian History Congress at Allahabad on the 9th and 10th of this month by Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.

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RESOLUTION passed by circulation of the Agenda on 6—11—1938.

Read the correspondence that passed between the Managing Director, Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd., Madras Branch and the Secretary, ending with 5--11--38.

Resolved to take on lease the Hall and a Room on the first floor of the building in which the Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd. is

located on a monthly rent of Rs. 12 and a monthly electric lighting charge of Rs. 1-8-0 with effect from 9th November 1938.

Resolved further to remove the Library and the Museum of the Society into the new premises on the 9th instant.

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MINUTES OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 13-11-1938.

3. Resolved to write a letter to the President of the Theosophical Society, Rajahmundry thanking him for his uniform courtesy and generosity in allowing the Society to keep its Library and Museum and the Free Reading Room in the Hall of the T. S. Lodge from 1932 onwards without charging any rent.

6. Read letter from the School of Oriental Studies, London. Resolved to supply Vol. III of the *J.A.H.R.S.* again and also send the Telugu Publications of the Society, (three in all) in exchange for their *Bulletin*, Vols. I to III.

7. Resolved to approve of the expenditure incurred by the Secretary in shifting the Library etc. of the Society into the new premises.

9. Resolved to purchase paper for the *Reddi Sanchika* from the Local Andhra Paper Mills, if that is suitable for the purpose.

Resolved further to request the Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry to commence printing of the *Reddi Sanchika*.

Resolved further to print 500 copies of the *Reddi Sanchika* on 28 lbs. Double Crown paper.

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• RESOLUTION passed by urgent circulation of the Agenda

Read letter dated 14-11-1938, from Mr. C. Atmaram, formerly Joint Secretary of the Society, (1934-35) herewith circulated.

Heard the statements made by Mr. R. Subba Rao and Mr. C. Atmaram. In view of the delicate situation that has arisen owing to the refusal of Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu to grant any more time for the repayment of the loan, due on the promissory note executed by Mr. C. Atmaram as Secretary, it is hereby resolved to pay immediately the sum of Rs. 100 and obtain the pronote back with the endorsement "fully discharged" made thereon.

Resolved further to place on record the grateful thanks of the Council, and convey the same to Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu, for his waiving the right to the interest on the pronote and for rendering timely help at a time when it was most urgently needed.

MINUTES OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 18-12-1938.

Resolved to remove the following persons from the Roll of Members.

Mr. V. V. S. Avadhani

Mr. Govind Balawant Makodi

Mr. Y. V. Ramana Rao Patnaik

Mr. P. Somasundara Desikar

Mr. Rudraraju Venkatramaraju

Mr. V. Satyanarayana

Mr. P. Subbaraju

Resolved to purchase 30 reams of printing paper D.C. 28 lbs. for printing the *Reddi Sanchika* from the Andhra Paper Mills and send the bill for payment out of the donation of H. H. Maharani Saheba of Gadwal, to Dr. C. R. Reddy.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL HELD ON 21-1-39

2. Read the letter of request of Mr. N. Kameswara Rao for permission to take 500 copies of the article, "The Murapaka Grant of Vajrahasta III," by Mr. R. Subba Rao, published in *Journal*, Vol. XII, Part I, for his incorporating it in the "History of Kalinga" by Mr. R. Subba Rao.

Resolved to grant necessary permission on the understanding that the same would be acknowledged in the Preface of the book.

7. Resolved to purchase the missing parts of the *J.B. & O.R.S* so as to make the set complete as the *B. & O.R.S.* have expressed their inability to supply them freely.

10. Resolved to appoint a clerk for a period not exceeding one month on a remuneration not exceeding Rs. 15 per mensem for stock taking of the publications of the Society and the Library.

The clerk I. Sundara Sivarao is appointed on the suggestion of Mr. R. Subba Rao, from 28—1—39 to 28—2—39 provisionally.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 12-2-39

Resolved to admit Mr. B. Mallappa, Commissioner, Rajahmundry Municipality and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B. Director-General of Archaeology in India, Delhi as ordinary members of the Society (1938—39).

2. The programme for the Reddi Empire Day Celebration on the 7th, 8th and 9th April, prepared by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao is approved.

3. Resolved to sanction Rs. 15/- only to the Secretary towards his travelling expenses for going to Madras in connection with the *Reddi Sanchika* work, namely to select photographs taken by the

Archaeological Department (Southern Circle) for inclusion in the *Reddi Sanchika*. The photographs shall be of places of historical importance like Srisailem, Tripurantakam, Addanki, Kondavidu, Korukonda and Drakhsarama, as the cost of taking fresh photographs will be greater.

Mr. M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B., member of the Editorial Board of the *Reddi Sanchika* is requested to accompany Mr. B. V. Krishnarao to Madras and tour the Southern Andhra country for the collection of donations and subscriptions for the Reddi Empire Day Celebration and *Reddi Sanchika* publication.

5. Accounts are checked and found up to-date and correct.

8. Resolved to order Zinc half tone blocks for the chart that accompanies Mr. M. S. Sarma's article, on the Madras Plates of Anantavarman, which is to appear in *JAHRS*, Vol. XII, Pt. 1.

9. Read letter of Mr. V. Apparao to the Treasurer- Mr. V. Apparao is requested to deliver to the Treasurer all the vouchers of his expenditure for Rs. 2—8—0 and to obtain necessary advance towards his postage account.

11. Resolved to pay the balance Rs. 10 to the S. R. P. Works in full discharge of the balance due to them for printing, and obtain a receipt.

MINUTES OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 5—3—39.

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as members of the Society (1938-39).

- Rao Saheb T. V. Gopala Rao Naidu Garu, B.A., B.L., Retired Deputy Collector, Rajahmundry.

Sri K. Linga Raju Garu, Municipal Chairman, Rajahmundry.

- 2. Binder's bills checked and passed. Resolved that Rs. 48 only in full discharge be paid to him. Number of books bound are 153.

3. Printer's Bill (R. E. Press) for printing Vol. XI, Parts 1 to

4. finally checked.

A sum of Rs. 33—14—0 is found due. Resolved to pay the balance (Rs. 33—14—0) and close the account.

4. (a) Read letter from Dr. C. R. Reddy. After due consideration of all matters involved it is now resolved that the Council should stick to the original programme and to request Dr. C. R. Reddy garu, and H. H. the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal to kindly it convenient to attend the celebrations.

(b) Mr. M. Anna Reddi is elected as 'Joint Editor' of the *Reddi Sanchika*.

5. Accounts up to date checked and approved.

6. Resolved to hold the annual meeting of the General Body of the Society on 2—3—1939. Mr. R. Subba Rao is requested to draw up a programme for the Annual meeting.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL HELD ON 29—3—1939.

1. (1) The Report of the Hon. Secretary of the working of the Society during the year 1938—39 is read and adopted.

(2) The Treasurer is requested to prepare and present his Statement of Receipts and Expenditure to the General Body on the April, 2 next.

(3) The Report on the working of the Library and the Museum for the year 1938—39 by the Librarian & Curator is read and adopted.

2. Resolved to get blocks made of the photos of the following donors to the *Reddi Sanchika* for inclusion in the publication.

1. Sri Kovvuri Satyanarayana Reddi garu, Balabhadrunipuram.
2. Sri Satti China Venkatareddi garu, Savaram.
3. Sri Satti Subbanna garu, son of Gangireddi, Savaram.
4. Sri Satti Sattiraju garu, Savaram.
5. Sri Dwarampudi Venkayya garu, Savaram.
6. Tatavarti Seetarama Sreshthi and
7. Tatavarti Chenchu Punnaiah. (Both of Rajahmundry).

3. (1) Resolved to publish all the available blocks of photographs of antiquities of the Reddi Period in suitable sizes. The discretion in the matter of selection etc. shall be in the Editor and Joint Editor, Secretary and Mr. R. Subba Rao.

(3) Resolved that photographs of the Reddi Empire Day Celebration, viz., the Managing Council for the year, the Editorial Board, and Exhibition be taken and published in the *Reddi Sanchika*.

10. Sri V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu, of the Oriental Mss. Library be requested to preside over the Literary Section of the Reddi Empire Day Celebration.

Resolved that his Travelling Expenses be paid.

